

Joy, 1997

FINANCIAL TIMES

Aerospace

Industries manoeuvre for the end-game

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The ivory trade

Common sense prevailed in Harare

Martin Wolf, Page 18

Smart farming

Computers help get the most from every field

Technology, Page 12

Today's surveys

*India
Business books*

Separate sections, Pages 14-15

World Business Newspaper <http://www.FT.com>

TUESDAY JUNE 24 1997

Compromise set to end German digital TV battle

The battle to control digital pay-television in Germany appears close to a truce, with Kirch-Group and rival media company CLT-Ufa announcing a compromise deal. The two companies, which have spent more than a year fighting, said they had agreed to work together to develop digital pay-TV. The agreement, which must seek regulatory approval, is a welcome respite for Kirch - the subject of intense speculation over its financial health. Page 20 and Lex

ICI outlines Australian sale: ICI, the UK-based chemicals group, yesterday announced details of the planned \$1bn public offering of its 6.4 per cent stake in ICI Australia, but refused to rule out the possibility of a trade sale to a single buyer. The UK group denied it had talked to potential bidders, but said that if a buyer came forward it would consider any offer. Page 21

Lorho and JCJ close to agreement: Talks over a £2bn merger between UK-based conglomerate Lorho and its South African sister, the mining group JCJ, will come to a head this week. "I believe the position with JCJ will be clarified in days, rather than weeks," said Lorho chief executive Nicholas Morell as he announced pre-tax profits before exceptional charges down 38 per cent at £38m for the half-year to March 31. Page 21

Eli Lilly announces \$2.4bn charges: Eli Lilly, the US pharmaceuticals company, yesterday announced a \$2.4bn charge to reflect the fall in value of PCs, which it bought three years ago to try to secure wider distribution for its drugs in the US. The move underlines how far prospects for the US healthcare industry have shifted during the Clinton presidency. Page 21

New Japanese life failures feared: New failures in Japan's life assurance sector are "probable" as Japan prepares for "Big Bang" financial deregulation, said the US credit rating agency, Standard & Poor's. The agency's warning comes as five big Japanese life assurance groups have been assigned low credit ratings by S&P. Page 21

Lagerfeld hit by £1.8m tax bill

Fashion guru Karl Lagerfeld (left) has been ordered to pay more than £1.8m in back taxes after a French court ruled that he was not a tax exile in Monaco. The court in Nice said Lagerfeld, the chief designer for French fashion house Chanel, and his Italian company Fendi, and his own signature line, had evaded tax for two years in the early 1980s.

US tobacco stocks fall after deal: US tobacco stocks took a drubbing yesterday as investors feared that Congress would demand tougher terms for the industry's \$36bn settlement with anti-tobacco lawyers. But Wall Street's cool reaction for the deal could also be good news for those who hammered it out - because legislators would have been much less likely to approve an agreement that sent tobacco stocks soaring. Page 6

AlphaTec chief faces call to quit

Creditors of AlphaTec Electronics, the Thai computer chip maker, are expected to seek the resignation of chief executive Charn Usavachoke before they agree to give the company time to restructure its debts, after AlphaTec missed a \$45m payment on a euroconvertible bond issue. Last month AlphaTec missed repaying \$40m to a syndicate led by ING Bank. Page 20

Kremlin shrugs off budget veto: Russia's Communist-dominated parliament has defied President Boris Yeltsin by rejecting his plans to cut budget spending targets by one-fifth. But the motion has little practical importance, given parliament's inability to hold the government to account over its budgetary performance. Page 2

Lord's Test match ends in draw: The weather-ravaged second Test at Lord's ended in a draw today, leaving England one ahead in the six-match Ashes series against Australia.

Score: England 77 and 268 for four declared, Australia 213 for seven declared. Man of the match was Australian bowler Glenn McGrath.

FT.com: the FT web site provides online news, comment and analysis at <http://www.FT.com>

STOCK MARKET INDICES

	■ GOLD
New York Comex	\$1,742.59 (+7.82)
NASDAQ Composite	1,448.02 (+0.92)
Europe and Far East	
CA40	2,762.20 (+5.10)
DAX	3,764.72 (-32.52)
FTSE 100	4,575.53 (-18.1)
	20,681.14 (+50.50)

US LUNCHEONTE RATES

	■ DOLLAR
New York luncheon	\$2,720.26
London	£1,720.00
FT	1,432.00
Y	115.35

OTHER RATES

	■ STERLING
London	£1,943 (1,850)
DM	1,722.00 (1,732)
FT	5,811 (5,455)
Y	115.47 (114.65)

NORTH SEA OIL (Argus)

	■ STERLING
Brent Dated	£17.545 (17.07)

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Taxpayer may face bill of FF170bn for rescue of state-owned bank

Crédit Lyonnais costs soar

By Andrew Jack in Paris

Rescuing Crédit Lyonnais, the French state-owned bank, could cost French taxpayers nearly FF170bn (£22.2bn) - far more than previously estimated.

The revised figure, contained in a draft report by the parliamentary committee set up to monitor the restructuring of the bank, is likely to increase tensions between the French government and the European Commission in Brussels, as well as possibly arousing fresh complaints from competitors.

The commission has already granted approval for state aid of FF150bn to the troubled bank. And it is still awaiting a

long-promised report from the French government which was expected to seek approval for a further FF120bn in aid, tied to the condition that the bank be privatised during 1998 or 1999.

Yesterday's report suggests the amount for which the government will have to seek approval will be significantly more than FF100bn.

The larger claim could also trigger a crisis for France's Socialist government, which is attempting to maintain the country's budget deficit within the tight limits that would enable it to qualify for entry to European monetary union in January 1999.

Mr Charles de Courson, the outgoing centre-right politi-

cian who was a director of EPFR, the body set up by the state to supervise the rescue of Crédit Lyonnais, said the total losses realised by the sale of investments and loans formerly owned by the bank would be FF105bn.

He said the interest charges

to finance EPFR until 2014, when all the assets are due to be sold, would cost an extra FF15bn.

The figures are contained in a report that Mr de Courson said had been submitted in the middle of last week to the French parliament, as well as to Mr Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the minister of economics, finance and industry.

However, other senior fig-

ures involved in the rescue plan expressed some scepticism over the figures. They stressed that the final report would not be issued for several more weeks.

The previous government had requested a new capital injection to strengthen the bank before its privatisation. It had also requested the cancellation of a FF120bn penalising loan in the original rescue plan.

This was made by Crédit Lyonnais at below market interest rates to finance the sale of more than FF120bn in assets transferred off its balance sheet for sale.

However, this new plan has now been thrown in doubt by

the election at the start of June of the Socialist government led by Mr Lionel Jospin, who last week in the National Assembly confirmed his election pledge to halt further sell-offs of state enterprises unless they were necessary in "the national interest".

Mr de Courson yesterday called on the government to transfer the costs incurred by the Crédit Lyonnais rescue plan directly into the public accounts rather than keeping them "concealed" in a series of quasi-public bodies.

He also demanded that the organisations responsible for selling Crédit Lyonnais' former assets be dismantled and their work put out to tender.

UK gives ground to Beijing over HK troops

By John Riddell in Hong Kong

China will be allowed to bring more than 500 armed troops into Hong Kong before the midnight transfer of sovereignty next Monday, following an agreement reached yesterday with Britain.

The move ends a three-week stalemate and marks a significant concession by Britain, which had previously rejected Chinese demands to reinforce an advance guard of 6,000 and 10,000 troops.

Under the terms of the agreement, China will send 500 soldiers across the border at 9.00pm local time. They will come in 39 vehicles and will carry light weapons, defined as pistols and rifles. The troops will be stationed at several barracks in the territory, with some attending a midnight handover ceremony.

China's official news agency said the accord would allow the PLA to take up its defensive responsibilities "zero hour" on July 1. Beijing argues this is necessary to avoid a defence vacuum and has underlined China's responsibility for the defence of Hong Kong under the Sino-British treaties which govern the transfer of sovereignty.

Beijing-backed newspapers had warned that rejection of China's demand would obstruct co-operation on the withdrawal of the British garrison after midnight. Following yesterday's accord, British and Chinese officials said they were confident of a smooth exchange of defence responsibilities.

China's demand to dispatch reinforcements, having already



Danish prime minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (left) and his Irish counterpart, John Bruton, on their way to a special United Nations session in New York yesterday, convened to renew countries' commitment to goals for the global environment set five years ago at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit Report, Page 20

Photo: Reuters

Pakistan and India move towards deal on Kashmir

By Farhan Baloch in Islamabad and Khuzaima Merchant in New Delhi

India and Pakistan yesterday agreed to negotiate the future of Kashmir, the territory whose object of two wars between the two countries since they split in 1947.

The move was part of a broad agreement, reached after four days of talks in Islamabad, to place all "outstanding issues" between them on the table for negotiation.

Mr Shamshad Ahmad, the Pakistani foreign secretary, who led the talks with Mr Salman Haider, his Indian counterpart, said the agreement would "initiate progress towards the settlement of all outstanding issues".

Mr I K Gujral, India's prime minister, and his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Nawaz Sharif,

NEWS: EUROPE

Bayer signs deal on jobs and costs

By Graham Bowley
in Frankfurt

Bayer, the German chemicals and pharmaceuticals company, signed a cost-cutting deal with its German workers yesterday in return for a promise to avoid large job losses before 2001.

The ground-breaking agreement commits Bayer to DM20bn (\$12bn) of new investment up to the end of 2002 in return for savings in bonus payments and other extra staff costs worth about DM300m a year.

It is the first time Bayer has struck an agreement

directly with its workforce, rather than through the industry-wide agreements traditional in Germany.

The accord represents the latest concession secured by German companies which want to free up the labour market and improve competitiveness.

It comes against a backdrop of record high unemployment in Germany and growing pressure on German businesses to reduce costs to remain internationally competitive.

Already, many large companies have moved some production to areas such as

eastern Europe to take advantage of cheaper and more flexible workers.

Bayer said workers would not be put off for "economic reasons" before the end of 2000, although there could still be voluntary redundancies or losses through restructuring. The deal also commits workers to increased flexibility in working hours.

Mr Burkhard Jahn, a spokesman for the BAVC, the German chemical employers' association, said the agreement was one of the most progressive yet in the chemicals industry.

"This is in the spirit of doing what is necessary to bolster competitiveness and keep employment in Germany," he said.

The latest deal follows the industry-wide agreement struck earlier this month between employers and the IG Chemie trade union, which allows companies to reduce wages by up to 10 per cent in times of economic downturns in return for not sacking workers.

This innovative deal has won praise in Germany, leading to calls for other unions – such as the more powerful metal workers'

union – to follow suit. In April, Ford of Germany secured a cost-cutting deal with its workers to save \$120m (£72m) a year to help safeguard 34,000 jobs, in return for investment commitments in the country up to 2010. Last month, BASF agreed a deal with its workers to extend its system of profit-related pay-in a bid to motivate its workers more.

Mr Hans-Jürgen Mohr, Bayer's labour director, said that globalisation of markets and tougher competition were hitting Bayer particularly hard. He said that the company's staff expenses were much higher than its international competitors. Bayer has reduced its workforce by a quarter over the last 10 years.

Mr Rolf Nietszke, chairman of the Bayer employee committee, hailed the agreement as a guarantee of "a high level of job security". He said that "a start has been made towards revitalising Germany as a production location for Bayer".

The international community is planning intensive monitoring, but Mr Fatos Nano, the Socialist leader, warned that there was still a possibility that "the only alternative left to some ranks and structures of the secret police action under Berisha's orders could be to destroy ballots". The violent anarchy in Albania was triggered by the collapse of a series of fraudulent pyramid finance schemes. Yesterday the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank urged the rapid closure of those that remained. Both said they were ready to provide financial assistance "once Albanian authorities are in control of the country... and have made progress in establishing a sound macroeconomic framework and in dealing effectively with the schemes".

Kevin Done, London

Parliament votes down spending cuts but ministers set to press ahead

Kremlin shrugs off budget vote

By John Thornhill
in Moscow

The Communist-dominated parliament in Russia yesterday defied President Boris Yeltsin on his return from the Group of Seven summit in Denver by rejecting his government's plans to cut budget spending targets by one-fifth.

But the motion, carried by 210 votes to 112, has little practical importance, given parliament's inability to hold the government to account over its budgetary performance.

Mr Vladimir Petrov, deputy finance minister, said the government would continue to cut planned spending as it deemed necessary to keep public finances under control.

The government has said

it will have to chop Rbs108,000bn (\$19bn) from the "unrealistically high" spending targets contained in the 1997 budget because of a shortfall in tax revenues.

The vote was part of a continuing political battle between the government and parliament over who should take the blame for rewriting the wildly optimistic budget. But parliament, which rises for the summer recess today, showed some sense of responsibility by rejecting a Communist-inspired alternative proposal to cut planned spending by just Rbs30,000bn.

In spite of the parliamentary setback, government ministers were in almost triumphalist mood yesterday as they trumpeted the achievements of the new team's first 100 days in

office. Mr Boris Nemtsov, who was appointed first deputy prime minister in March, said that the government had taken great strides in liquidating its arrears to pensioners by squeezing extra tax revenue out of the worst corporate tax dodgers.

He said the government had already eliminated pension arrears in 60 of Russia's 89 regions and would complete the task by July 1, as it had promised. It would then eliminate its arrears to federal employees, as well as teachers and soldiers, he said.

The 37-year-old minister also unveiled plans yesterday to address the chronic non-payments crisis bedevilling large swathes of industry. He said the federal energy commission, the industry

regulator, would slash electricity tariffs by 30 per cent for industrial consumers which paid their bills in cash on time.

The government has already announced a similar cut of 40 per cent in the gas industry.

The initiative is designed to encourage prompt payment of bills and break the logjam of debts that has built up in the economy. The move could also lead to a strong inflow of cash into the energy companies, enabling them to pay their outstanding tax bills, he added.

Mr Nemtsov said that the recent reduction in the central bank's refinancing rate from 36 per cent to 24 per cent would encourage banks to invest in the real economy rather than speculate in the Soviet Union.

He said it was unrealistic

to expect some countries, such as Nigeria or Angola, to repay their debts. But other countries' debts were recoverable in part.

Mr Cebalais said this would enable Russia to begin recovering at least part of the \$140bn of debt it is owed by 40 other countries which had close ties with the Soviet Union.

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Travel industry looks for boost from the euro



Preparing for Emu
Long-haul visitors to Europe are faced with several obstacles when they travel to more than one country within the continent. The visa requirements, the problems of communicating in a variety of languages and the need for so many different currencies can be off-putting.

The European Union's travel industry believes that, by eliminating one of these irritants, economic and monetary union will lead to an increase in travel to and within Europe. Business travel volumes would also be likely to increase.

"The travel industry is in favour of the euro, because we expect it to boost tourism and therefore increase the turnover of local agents," says Mr Michel de Blust, secretary-general of Etcaa, the Brussels-based European association of travel agents and tour operators.

Emu should also lead to

greater price stability and removal of exchange rate risks are two of benefits foreseen, writes Scheherazade Daneshkhu, Leisure Industries Correspondent

The single currency will remove exchange rate volatility," says Mr Lance Moir, finance director at First Choice, a UK-based tour operator. "That will take some of the uncertainty out of tour operators' profits, which could lead to sharper pricing."

Yet many aspects of the impact of a single currency are still guesswork, particularly in the UK, the largest package holiday market. The Association of British Travel Agents hopes that a study it commissioned in February will throw more light on the subject. Even if Britain does not

join Emu in 1999, its travel industry will still be affected by monetary union.

The study by the Centre for Economics and Business Research is expected to be released next month and will examine the impact of a single currency on holiday prices, consumer spending and whether the effect on business and leisure markets is likely to be different.

It will also count the cost of changeover for technology and finance departments.

Etcaa puts changeover costs at between 1.8 per cent and 3 per cent of a travel company's turnover in a briefing memo on the impact of the euro on the travel industry. This is a significant cost for the low-margin industry which makes gross profit margins of 10 per cent in a good year.

Travel agents with a large foreign exchange business will also suffer loss of income, particularly if Spain joins Emu at the earliest

stage in 1999. More than 40 per cent of UK package holidaymakers go to Spain, which is also the most important destination outside Germany for German holidaymakers.

With easy price comparison, simple products like air fares could fall

Thomas Cook, the UK travel agent owned by the Dusseldorf-based Westdeutsche Landesbank, which claims to have more than 20 per cent of the British travel foreign exchange market, acknowledges that Emu will have a significant impact on its business but says that it is exploring other ways of replacing the lost

income. These include new products such as Visa Travel Money, which is being piloted in the UK and Far East. This acts as an electronic travellers cheque by allowing users to buy a card with a predetermined value to withdraw cash from cashpoint (automatic teller) machines.

While some tour operators believe the costs of changeover will push up holiday prices, others think the euro will foster more competition through its greater transparency which could lead to a fall in prices.

By making price comparisons easy, straightforward products, such as air fares, could fall, believe Mr de Blust. "If you combine monetary union with the development of on-line sales, such as the internet, the euro will probably encourage a decrease in prices in those markets which are expensive compared to others."

Those living near a border will be particularly well placed to take advantage of pricing differences by comparing the euro price on each side of the border and then doing their travel shopping in the country with the cheaper price.

Although this effect could spill over into package holiday prices, these are perhaps too culture-specific to lead to a fundamental shift in holiday habits. "Do you really think British people would like to travel with a German tour operator and be welcomed in Germany at their destination?" asks Mr de Blust.

Mr Gerd Hesselmann, president of Deutscher Reisebüro Verband, one of Germany's largest travel agent companies, doubts that Emu will herald lower package holiday prices because of the industry's low profit margins. "We already have a highly competitive market and there's no room for prices to fall, otherwise

companies will produce losses."

Where competition is likely to be at its keenest is between the monetary union countries and those outside it. Destinations such as Spain and Italy, which have had relatively weak currencies in Europe, could find themselves at a competitive price disadvantage to Turkey, Greece and North Africa if they join a strong euro.

The German travel industry is particularly fearful of a potential downturn in the Spanish market, since many of its package holiday companies, including TUI, Europe's largest in turnover terms, own hotels in Spain. "This is our main concern about Emu, particularly since we would like the euro to be strong," said Mr Hesselmann. "We do not want the euro to become a competitive tool for different companies, so we are working towards a common standard for the industry."

AVAC, the association of Catalan travel agents, sees no reason for Emu to push up Spanish holiday prices. But if it does, Spain will compete on quality of service and new products.

Emu: who's going to make it

	Yesterday	1 week ago	4 weeks ago
Germany	100%	100%	100%
France	100%	100%	100%
Belgium	100%	100%	100%
Portugal	81%	77%	63%
Spain	78%	76%	60%
Finland	74%	72%	79%
Ireland	67%	44%	75%
Austria	70%	62%	63%
Italy	60%	60%	62%
Denmark	41%	38%	47%
UK	24%	28%	44%

The Emu calculator reveals, real time, the probability of individual countries joining Germany in a monetary union in 1999 implied by financial market prices. Market probabilities are derived from the interest rate swap market, in which investors swap floating-rate interest payments for fixed-rate ones. The implied probability of Italy participating in Emu in 1999 can be calculated looking at where the spread between post-1992 D-Mark and D-Mark swap rates lies, between the zero level implied by Emu and the level we would expect if Italy is not in Emu. Italy's non-Emu spread is estimated by currency strategists at JP Morgan using the pre-1992 correlation of the pre-D-Mark swap spread with similar spreads outside Europe.

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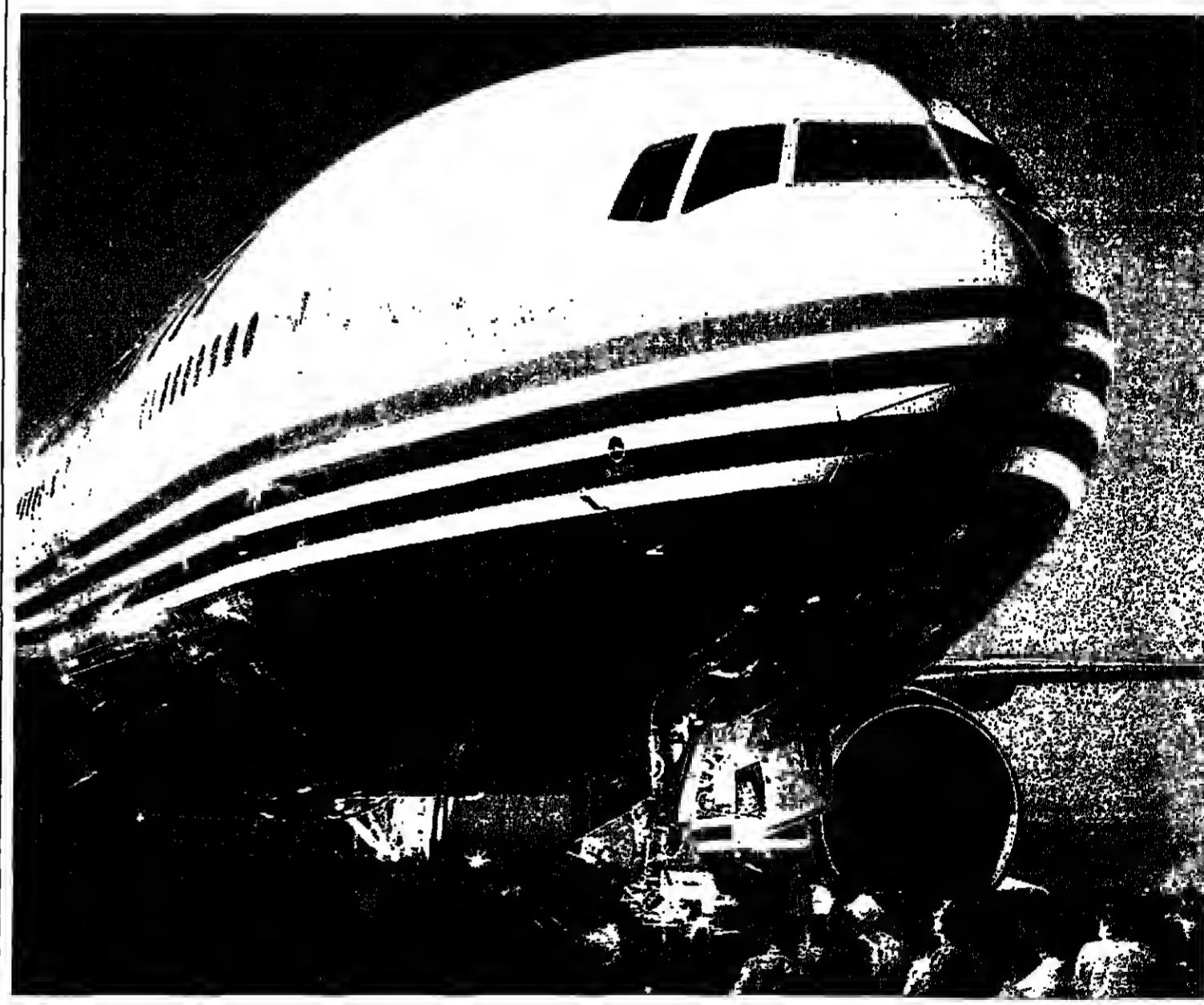
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NEWS: INTERNATIONAL

Namibian economy will depend heavily on outcome of Namdeb's high-tonnage, low-cost mining strategy

Diamond company digs in for better cut

Fundamental changes are taking place at Namdeb, the diamond mining company on which Namibia's economy depends heavily - it accounts for 10 per cent of the African country's gross domestic product, 30 per cent of exports, is the biggest taxpayer and, apart from the government, the biggest employer.

For 70 years a rich haul of gem diamonds has been recovered from a 150km stretch of beach near the mouth of the Orange River on the Atlantic coast called Spergebiet, or "forbidden territory".

But the rich ore deposits have gradually been mined away and only low grade deposits remain. Namdeb has had to re-appraise its mining methods. The company, jointly owned by the Namibian government and De Beers of South Africa, is switching to high tonnage, low cost mining.

The impact is already being felt.

Mr Mike Wittet, Namdeb's general manager, says an essential component of the drive to cut costs is the need to reduce the number of employees.

He aims to reduce the number, 4,781 in 1995, by nearly 40 per cent to 2,900 in 2002. Last year 437 jobs were lost. In 1997 another 580 will

go. This is in a country where the total population is only about 1.6m.

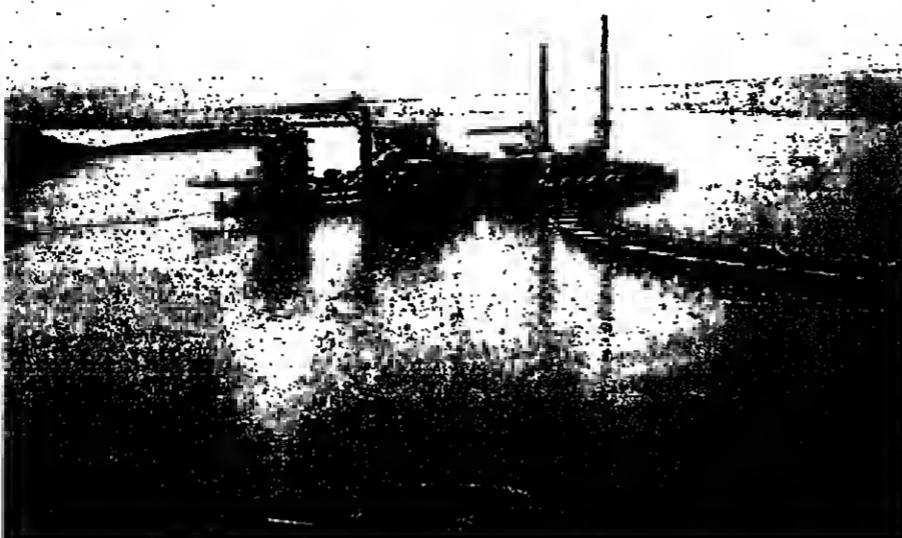
Namdeb is also making plans to hand over to local people Oranjemund, the company town it built from its own resources. Oranjemund has a population of about 10,000 and at present Namdeb runs and finances services which elsewhere in Namibia would be the responsibility of the state: a hospital, school, technical college, water and sewerage provision as well as providing houses, streets, parks and sports fields.

A start has been made and maintenance of parks is now in the hands of another company.

Negotiations are going on with the union so a town council can be set up and the provision of services at Oranjemund gradually handed over.

It will not be easy. The best restaurant in town has been taken back into Namdeb's control because when "out-sourced" it did not meet acceptable standard.

The high-volume, low-cost mining approach is epitomised by Namdeb's US\$40m dredge project. This huge complex consists of an 840-tonne dredge, floating on an inland pond, an associated floating treatment plant, 400 metres of floating walkway



Namdeb's dredge project can strip 2,500 tonnes of beach sand an hour

Kenneth Gooding

output remains about 1.3m carats for the next ten years (each carat weighs only one fifth of one gramme). The effort is worthwhile because 95 per cent of the diamonds in the Spergebiet are of gem quality, and usually quite big. Last year Namdeb produced 1.3m carats.

Mr Boting says Namdeb is spending four times the 1993 rate on exploration, looking at small "pocket" beaches along the coast that might contain diamonds and increase the life of the mine. However, exploration expenditure on land will be wound down after another year because all potential areas will have been investigated.

Achievement of the annual 1.3m carat target will depend on an increase in diamonds mined from the sea bed off the Namibian shore. De Beers, a wholly-owned De Beers subsidiary, hired as a contractor to Namdeb and operating in deep sea, produced 470,892 carats out of the 1.3m total last year. Five other contractors, operating in shallow water, produced 118,226 carats.

Namdeb keeps its financial statistics secret but analysts estimate it receives an average of US\$315 a carat for its diamonds to give it annual revenue of \$42m.

Kenneth Gooding

Israel cabinet 'failed to discuss cuts'

By Judy Dempsey
in Jerusalem

Officials of Israel's finance ministry confirmed yesterday that plans for budget cuts were not discussed at a crucial cabinet meeting last week, despite an announcement by Mr Benjamin Netanyahu, the prime minister, that he would press ahead with them.

Some economists claimed Mr Netanyahu was dodging unpopular measures before a no-confidence vote today.

Mr Ariel Sharon, infrastructure minister, and the man most likely to be appointed finance minister in a reshuffle expected this week, was regarded as even less likely to maintain a tight fiscal policy, they added. Mr Dan Meridor resigned as finance minister last week after a long power struggle with the prime minister.

"If Sharon gets the finance ministry, I cannot see him continuing with a tight fiscal policy," said Mr Gad Haker from Ilanot-Batuchim investors.

Mr Netanyahu himself confirmed he would press ahead with the cuts and other measures a week ago.

"I have no idea why the budget was not discussed despite the agreement to do so," a finance ministry official declared.

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July 15, 1997

Israel failed to discuss



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NEWS: ASIA-PACIFIC

Vietnam's leaders ready to step down

By Jeremy Grant
in Ho Chi Minh City

Two of Vietnam's top three ageing communist leaders have indicated they will relinquish their jobs in about three months, ending a leadership succession stalemate that has all but frozen economic reforms for almost a year.

Diplomats said the decision may not produce significant changes in economic policy as the two were expected to stay in the ruling 18-member politburo to oversee transition to a younger generation.

That could act as a drag on reform in spite of calls from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for swift action to tackle Vietnam's crippled banking system and to reform loss-making state enterprises.

"I don't think we're going to have big changes. They [the leaders] know the obstacles, what needs to be changed. But they are obsessed with stability," said one European diplomat. "They feel that if they reform too quickly, they'll destabilise the country."

The communist party yesterday

said the general secretary, Mr Do Muoi, 80, President Le Duc Anh, 76 and Mr Vo Van Kiet, the prime minister, 74 - the three most powerful men in Vietnam - had not put their names forward for re-election to the National Assembly, or parliament.

Possible successors to the presidency include Mr Nguyen Manh Cam, foreign minister; Nong Duc Manh, National Assembly chairman; and the defence minister, Mr Doan Khu. Phan Van Khai, a reformist deputy premier, is tipped as premier.

Mr Muoi may wait until a mid-term communist party congress early next year before stepping down. He is seen as a unifying figure in Vietnam's delicate balance between reformists, conservatives and the military. The other two in the politburo are expected to leave the politburo with him.

Front runner to replace Mr Muoi is Gen Le Kha Phiêu, a fast-rising conservative figure who reflects the growing power of the military.

Government decision-making has been all but paralysed since before

a landmark communist party con-

gress in July last year, when the troika decided to stay in office after failing to agree on successors. That saw economic reforms and decision-making in the bureaucracy slow down, stalling crucial large-scale infrastructure projects.

The old guard may now have found a formula that suits Vietnam's gradualist, Confucian approach to political change. But many economists say urgent action is needed to avert a fiscal crunch and that the leadership's apparent inability to anticipate problems is a considerable weakness.

Trend to coalition rule adds to importance of president's role

'Untouchable' goes to the top in India

By Khozem Merchant
in New Delhi

It has taken 50 years but India is finally poised to elect its first president from the "untouchables", the low-caste community embraced by Mahatma Gandhi.

Nominations closed for the country's highest office yesterday. Though the field includes the abrasive former chief election commissioner, Mr T.N. Seshan, it now appears a formality that Mr K.R. Narayanan, an Dalit (oppressed) born into the lowest of the so-called scheduled castes, will be elected by an electoral college of MPs next month.

Mr Narayanan, now vice-president, is the consensus candidate of the ruling United Front, Congress party and the Hindu revivalist BJP. That will ensure his passage to the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the imperial palace vacated by the last British viceroy half a century ago, and since occupied by 10 Indian presidents.

"In this special year for India, there is huge symbolism in electing someone from the scheduled caste, who make up about 75 per cent of our population. It's like an Afro-American becoming president of the US," said Mr Ashish Nandy, a New Delhi political analyst.

The composition of the United Front government, which brings together communists, capitalists and secularists, illustrates the trend towards coalitions.

All makes for a central government more vulnerable to short-term alliance-building of the kind that brought down the US's Mr H.D. Deve Gowda as prime minister last year. The presidency has emerged along with the judiciary as one of the few institutions able to check the excess of the executive, legislature and bureaucracy.

The presidency was once derided... But the job has evolved. Today it is not just an exalted office standing over all else as it was after independence; it is now one

of several institutions that are real checks on the system and that reflects our new political realities," says Mr Nandy.

India Survey, Separate Sections; Editorial Comment, Page 19

dignity and independence during a delicate period."

The most delicate point was perhaps last year when President Sharma, asked the BJP, the biggest single party in elections in April last year, to form its first govern-

ment. As he knew it would, after it failed to win the confidence of parliament and he silenced critics who believed the Congress-appointed president would never countenance a governing party that was the antithesis of India's secular tradition.

The enhanced stature of the presidency follows the broader collapse of the centrifugal forces that have dominated politics since independence. At its core was the now decaying Congress party and its controlling Nehru dynasty. What has emerged is a kaleidoscope of parties representing sectional, caste, regional or single-issue interests.

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India Survey, Separate Sections; Editorial Comment, Page 19

HK property bubble gets ever bigger



Pearl Oriental, the Hong Kong property developer, recently turned down an offer of HK \$900m (US\$116m) for Genesis, a luxury house on the island's Victoria Peak. A price of HK\$33,000 per square foot was not enough, Pearl's chairman, Mr Wong Kwan, said.

Across the harbour in eastern Kowloon, Mr Cha, a bank executive, has his eye on something more modest. But the 500 square foot apartment will still cost HK\$34m, almost 50 per cent more than it did two years ago. The 30 per cent deposit needed will take him more than five years of saving.

Even in land-scarce Hong Kong, long used to pricey property, these sums are raising anxieties. As the territory prepares for its return to China next week they are also raising a dilemma for the incoming administration. "The housing crisis is at boiling point," says Ms Christine Loh, a legislator and founder of the Citizen's party. "Market mechanisms are not working."

Mr Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's post-colonial leader, has signalled that repairs will be a top priority when he takes office next week. "The government under my leadership will attach special concern to this," he said last weekend, amid expectations that measures will be unveiled as early as July 1.

These measures will require careful handling. Failure to address structural problems in the sector risks social strains, reduced competitiveness as a regional business centre and a potentially destabilising economic bubble. But such is the

importance of property to Hong Kong's economy, that tough measures could also prove damaging.

Dr Lo Ka-shui, managing director of Great Eagle, the developer, and head of the Real Estate Developers' Association, estimates that the sector accounts for about 25 per cent of economic output. Ten of the territory's twelve biggest companies receive a large chunk of their profits from real estate, while property groups account for more than 40 per cent of the stockmarket capitalisation.

Attention has focused on a rise in real-estate speculation. "Speculation has returned with a vengeance," says Mr Michael Green, property analyst at Salomon Brothers. A recent sale at the Villa Esplanade development drew 30,000 applicants for 160 units, with many seeking to resell apartments.

Speculation is a real concern. But the roots of the problem run much deeper. New housing stock of 19,875 apartments last year and a forecast 24,850 this year are the lowest levels in a decade, underlining the problem of inadequate supply, says Ms Loh. She claims this reflects inadequate competition between a few dominant players who can disrupt the link between supply and demand".

"More substantial factors, according to the industry, are the government's failure to release enough land for housing and the red-tape which strangles development applications. "It takes years to get approval for projects," says Dr Lo Ka-shui, managing director of Great Eagle, one of Hong Kong's big developers.

Mr Dominic Wong, the housing secretary, has already signalled an increase in land supply. Mr Green at Salomon's believes Mr Leung at

tightening is of little use, since many of the speculators have made enough money to pay cash."

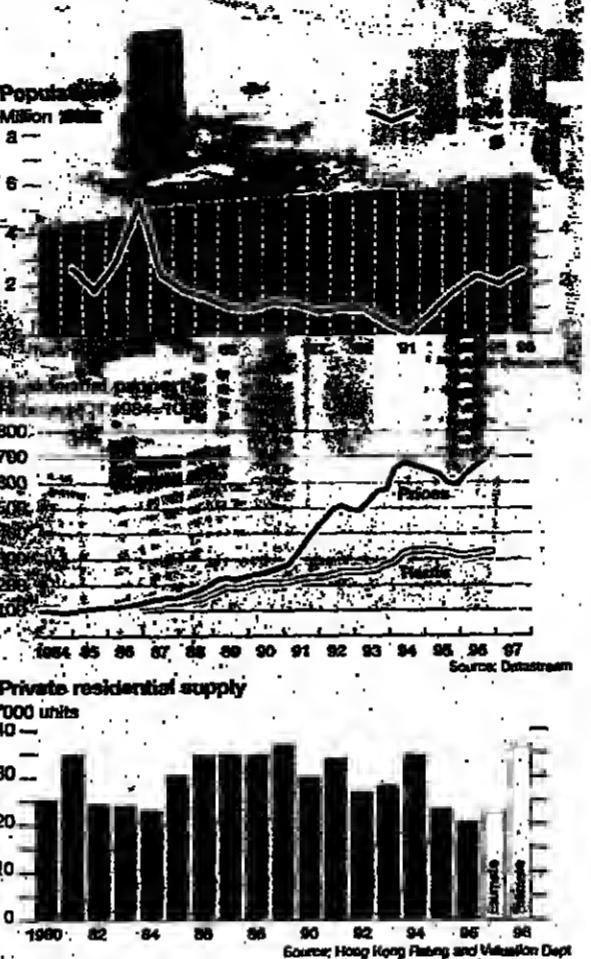
Fiscal options - such as a capital gains tax - have come under fire from the property developers. Other possibilities include administrative steps to prevent the rapid re-sale of properties and, in the longer term, the use of land near the Chinese border or even in neighbouring Guangdong province.

In the short term, there are no easy solutions. But pressures are growing.

"It would be wise for the government to prevent a bubble from developing, the alternative may be a burst bubble further down the track," says Mr Green at Salomon's. Should that happen, he argues, it could take years of financial restructuring to rebuild confidence.

John Riddings

Hong Kong: homes in short supply



Chun-yung, the head of Mr Tung's task-force, might also propose the acceleration of land reclamation projects and an increase in plot ratios - the size of buildings allowed on a given site.

Raising supply, however, takes time. "We will probably see an increase in the number of apartments coming on the market to 26,000 or 27,000 per year over the next few years," says Mr Faulkner. "But that won't be enough to make up the shortfall." He believes residential prices could continue to rise despite a predicted rise of 20-25 per cent this year.

Faced with the delay in supply-side measures, Mr Leung has signalled a tough stance in curbing price rises. But effective options are limited. "If you increase limits on mortgage lending then you hit first time buyers," says Mr Faulkner. "Credit

tightening is of little use, since many of the speculators have made enough money to pay cash."

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John Riddings

ASIA-PACIFIC NEWS DIGEST

More time for Thai reforms

Thai financial authorities yesterday delayed a plan to issue five royal decrees aimed at improving liquidity in the financial sector, helping ailing property developers and making permanent recent restrictions on currency trading. Government officials said the Mr Thanong Bida, the new finance minister, had asked for more time to review the measures drawn up by the central bank in collaboration with former finance minister, Mr Amnuay Viravan, because he would ultimately be responsible for implementing them.

The decree would spell out trading limits on the baht, simplify rules for the mergers of finance companies, grant exceptions to foreign ownership limits, provide guidelines for the securitisation of assets and establish an organisation to buy mortgages from financial institutions. Government officials said that in addition to Mr Thanong's request to review the measure, there was disagreement within the six-party coalition over details. They said they hoped the measures would be ready for cabinet decision next week.

Ted Bracken, Bangkok

Indian politician charged

Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav, president of the Janata Dal party of India's prime minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, as yesterday charged on several counts of conspiracy in an animal fodder scandal. The indictment of India's most charismatic politician is a severe embarrassment to the Janata Dal, which is the largest member of the ruling United Front coalition. Several UP legislators urged Mr Yadav to step down from his post as minister of Bihar, but he has refused, saying he "would rather hang than step down".

Mr Yadav commands huge support among the rural lower caste poor in Bihar and beyond. That has given him immense power in Delhi, where the constituency of the rural poor is powerful.

Khozem Merchant, New Delhi

Indonesian defeat accepted

Indonesia's minority Moslem-oriented United Development Party (PPP) has endorsed the sweeping victory of the ruling Golkar party in last month's general elections despite the PPP's accusations of widespread polling irregularities. The final and official election results announced yesterday showed Golkar secured 325 of the 425 elected seats in parliament in its best ever win. Mr Ismail Hasan Metareun, PPP chairman, said approving the results was "a very hard choice to make" but added that it was done with the "interests of the nation" in mind.

Meanwhile, the faction-ridden Indonesian Democratic Party, which lost support after the government-engineered removal of its leader, Ms Megawati Sukarnoputri, last year, secured an extra seat needed to ensure that it met minimum representation requirements in parliament.

Mameta Saraga, Jakarta

Philippine investment higher

The level of new investment in the Philippines reached an estimated 27 billion pesos (\$10bn) in the first five months, 18 per cent higher than the official target, according to figures released by the Board of Investments (BO). The BOI, the principal government agency to grant investors incentives, said the better than expected figures showed the government's policy of economic liberalisation and exports promotion "underscored the Philippines' attraction to foreign capital".

Its investment target for the full year is 500bn pesos to 550bn pesos.

Justin Moran, Manila

'Mistakes' of Vietnam war

Hanoi and Washington could have ended the Vietnam war much sooner had they not both been "serious mistakes" about each other's motives and intentions, Mr Robert McNamara, former US defence secretary, said yesterday. "These basic misperceptions, in my opinion, prevented each side from moving to terminate the conflict at several different points between 1968 and 1973," said at the end of a four-day conference in Hanoi. "Had it in the US recognised that, we would have had a very different outcome."

Mr McNamara said that in his opinion the US had misjudged the degree to which Hanoi had been willing to sacrifice human lives to achieve its goal of a unified independent Vietnam.

Reuter, Paris

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INDICATORS: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Trade figures are given in billions of European currency units (Ecu). The Ecu exchange rate shows the number of national currency units per Ecu. The nominal effective exchange rate is an index with 1985=100.

■ UNITED STATES ■ JAPAN ■ GERMANY

	Exports	Imports	Current account balance	Ecu exchange rate	Exports	Imports	Current account balance	Ecu exchange rate	Exports	Imports	Current account balance	Ecu exchange rate	
1985	231.0	-143.3	87.7	94.2	203.3	127.7	75.6	127.7	101.5	53.5	47.3	98.8	
1986	212.8	-154.1	17.9	104.7	202.5	124.4	79.5	124.4	102.0	54.0	48.2	124.4	
1987	272.5	-108.5	1,183.3	87.0	178.7	151.51	133.7	226.6	61.4	42.4	20.739	14.1	
1988	330.2	-99.3	985.1	1,017.0	245.5	70.8	153.1	147.0	310.1	65.1	51.5	2,003.1	13.3
1989	209.0	-79.3	121.3	1,274.5	220.0	50.0	28.5	182.9	232.8	51.9	38.3	2,053.7	12.1
1990	340.4	-143.3	1,239.1	249.4	277.7	57.4	166.44	143.7	327.8	11.1	-14.3	2,049.0	17.1
1991	345.3	-65.2	1,2										

NEWS: THE AMERICAS

Wall Street worries loopholes may spur Congress to demand tougher terms

Share prices fall on tobacco deal fears

By Richard Tomlin in New York

US tobacco stock took a drubbing yesterday as investors worried that Congress would demand tougher terms for the industry's \$36.5bn settlement with anti-tobacco lawyers.

But Wall Street's cool reaction for the deal could also be good news for those who hammered it out because legislators would have been much less likely to approve an agreement that sent tobacco stocks soaring.

In early trading yesterday, Philip

Morris's shares were down 51c or 2 per cent, at \$44.40, and RJR Nabisco's were down 54c or 1.5 per cent, at \$34. In London, shares in Britain's BAT Industries, parent of Brown & Williamson Tobacco, tumbled 21½p, or 3½ per cent, to 567½p.

Legislators and public health advocates harbour deep suspicions that the deal will benefit the tobacco industry instead of punishing it. Those fears were reinforced yesterday as it emerged that loopholes in the 68-page agreement would limit the damage

to tobacco companies' profits.

One element of the deal requires the tobacco industry to pay out up to \$2bn a year if it fails to cut teenage smoking by 30 per cent in five years and 60 per cent in 10 years - but these payments could be reduced by 75 per cent if the industry showed it had "pursued all reasonably available measures" to reach the goals.

The text also shows that, from the first year of the agreement, any percentage decrease in the number of adult smokers in the US will result in matching percentage

decreases in the industry's annual payments into the settlement fund. These start at \$8.5bn and rise to \$15bn in the fifth year.

This means that those who stand to benefit from the industry payout, including states with claims against the industry and plaintiffs included in class action lawsuits, will only get the full amount if people continue to smoke at present levels.

Meanwhile, legislators and public health advocates are concerned about the conditions attached to the Food and Drug

Administration's right to reduce, and eventually eliminate, the addictive nicotine content of cigarettes.

The agreement says the FDA can only reduce nicotine levels if it can show that this will not create a "significant demand for contraband", a hurdle that may be difficult for the agency to overcome.

Senator Ron Wyden, Oregon Democrat, said yesterday: "We're going to be some major re-writing on this agreement."

By Nancy Dunne
in Washington

The former US ambassador to Russia, Mr Robert Strauss, and a couple owning a small variety store

have become the national spokesmen in a media blitz supporting US-China trade.

The message contained in campaign advertisements featuring Mr Strauss on TV and the couple on radio is that trade with China benefits US consumers. The aim is to convince members of the House, expected to vote today to uphold President Clinton's annual renewal of China's Most Favoured Nation trade status.

The campaign is just part of the unprecedented level of debate over the annual MFN renewal. In Washington dozens of seminars, roundtables and press conferences have been devoted to the subject. Adding to that is the participation of the Family Research Council, a conservative Christian group, which has produced gruesome circular letters to its members about China's abortion policies.

MFN supporters have countered with a letter from

the Reverend Billy Graham, pronouncing himself "in favour of doing all we can to strengthen our relationship with China and its people".

The National Retail Federation, running the radio advertisements on news and talk shows around the country,

directly address human rights concerns, acknowledging: "Human rights issues are important, and China needs to treat its people better. But changing our normal trade status won't accomplish that."

Mr Strauss is featured in commercials paid for by Boeing. "There's been an attempt to frame the debate as a choice between American values and corporate profits," the company said. "This is not an either/or situation. The best way to bring about change is to engage in trade."

The advertising has helped drive the momentum towards MFN renewal, which both sides agree is not much in doubt. It also lays the groundwork for permanent MFN trade status, if China's accession to the World Trade Organisation can be achieved next year.

Fresh setback for Clintons over Whitewater

By Patti Walden in Washington

The Supreme Court yesterday dealt the White House another political setback, ruling that government lawyers must hand over notes of conversations with the First Lady, Ms Hillary Clinton, about the Whitewater scandal.

The White House had tried to withhold the notes from a federal grand jury investigating the Whitewater affair, arguing that they were protected by attorney-client privilege. The Court rejected this argument, so let stand an appeals court ruling that the notes must be

surrendered to the grand jury.

It was the second time in a month that the justices had handed down a ruling against the White House. Last month the Court ruled that President Bill Clinton could not claim immunity against prosecution in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case. Yesterday's ruling will again stir up public debate over whether the First Lady might face an indictment on Whitewater-related charges.

At issue in yesterday's decision were conversations between the First Lady and White House lawyers and her private attorneys

about her role in Whitewater, the failed Arkansas real estate venture.

It was part of a flood of Supreme Court decisions due to be handed down before the court's term ends on Thursday. With as many as 10 potentially landmark decisions due this week, involving issues such as free speech on the Internet, assisted suicide and gun control, legal experts say this term could prove one of the most significant in years.

At a time when paralysis reigns on Capitol Hill, with no major legislative initiatives in the offing, the

Court is doing more to shape US society than any other federal institution.

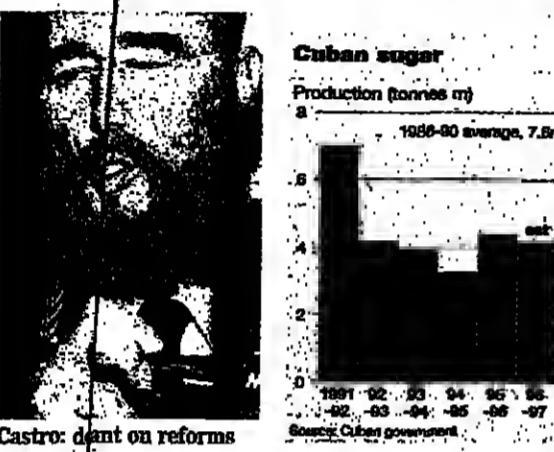
Most big decisions were still outstanding yesterday. Perhaps the most significant is the so-called "cyberporn" case, which tests the constitutionality of the Communications Decency Act, passed last year by Congress to regulate indecent words and pictures on the Internet.

The court will also decide whether Americans have a constitutional right to assisted suicide. Two cases present the question of whether state laws prohibiting doc-

tor-assisted suicide violate the constitution.

There are also important separations of powers and states' rights cases outstanding. Members of Congress are challenging the so-called line item veto act, which allows the president to strike down parts of legislation without sacrificing all of it. This may violate the separation of powers between the legislative and executive branches.

It must decide also whether the federal government can force local law enforcement agencies to conduct background checks on prospective gun purchasers.



Ciba growth wobbles as sanctions bite

After a 7.8% boost in GDP in 1996, the economy is going through a far tougher patch.

Impressive economic growth reported at nearly 8% in 1996 enable Cuba's leaders to shrug off tightened US economic sanctions with a defiant smile, but this year there is more reason to be happy about.

Cuba's ministers are much more reticent about answering questions on the country's economy's performance. They admit it has been squeezed since the start of the year by higher oil and food import prices and days and lower prices for cash exports. They say short-term credit flows have also been put under pressure by the March 1996 Helms-Burton law, which tightened the 35-year-old US economic embargo against the island.

Instead of achieving a bumper for income, Cuba's stricken sugar harvest, whose exports account for a big slice of hard currency earnings and also act as guarantee for foreign credits, will fall short of last year's 4.4 million tonnes. Delays have also been reported in nickel exports, another top hard currency earner.

An unofficial estimate prodded by Cuban economists puts GDP growth in the first five months at 1.5 percent.

"It has meant a much steeper start to the year than we could have liked," said Mr Alfonso Casanova, deputy economy minister.

When pressed Cuban officials reply with what appears to be a carefully preordained script. Their message is that, despite the difficult first half and disappointing sugar harvest, the government believes its initial forecast for annual GDP growth of between 4 and 5 percent can be achieved.

"We can make this. The economy should be more dynamic in the second half of the year," Mr Osvaldo Martinez, head of the economic affairs committee of Cuba's National Assembly, said.

M. Martinez and other officials argue that extra growth to compensate for the sugar production shortfall will come from tourism, manufacturing,

mining and services. Advances are also predicted in cigar and fisheries exports. The expanding tourist industry in particular is forecast to generate new growth in local machinery and textile production.

But some foreign business people and diplomats in Havana are sceptical about the Cuban economy's capacity to make up the lost ground. They point out that Cuba's GDP traditionally receives its biggest boost in the first half, which concentrates most of the "high" tourist season, and the main food and export crops.

While they acknowledge that tourism and nickel mining are clearly expanding, they question whether this will be enough to lift growth to the officially forecast levels, especially after a depressed sugar crop and a situation in which foreign credits are known to be both difficult and expensive for Cuba because of Helms-Burton.

Concerns in the foreign business community about this year's growth prospects are accompanied by a widespread perception that the pace of economic reform has slowed compared with 1994 and 1995, when the government appeared committed to a wide-ranging, market-oriented opening of the economy.

Although previously-announced reforms such as the creation of a new central bank and free trade zones have gone through this year, recent hardline, defensive statements by Cuban policymakers, including some who have been perceived as reformers, are raising fears that the island may be closing its doors to change.

Cuba's ministers now repeat at every available opportunity that Cuba is not heading towards "capitalism" but merely "perfected socialism" by seeking greater economic efficiency.

"They seem to be putting their heads back in the sand," one European diplomat said.

Pascal Fletcher

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Euro Philippe Rodon, Chief Executive Officer

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At a rate of 1000 US dollars.

Excluding companies consolidated by the equity method and proportionally consolidated. *After goodwill depreciation.

At a rate of 1000 US dollars.

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NEWS: UK

Departing leader says he has reached understanding with Blair on 'decommissioning'

Irish PM claims progress in arms talks

By Bruce Clark in New York,
Jimmy Burns in London and
agencies

Mr John Bruton, the outgoing prime minister of the Republic of Ireland, indicated yesterday that he had reached an understanding with Mr Tony Blair, the UK prime minister, on how to deal with the issue of "decommissioning" weapons held by paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland.

RTE, the broadcasting network in the republic, reported that Mr Bruton had said his understanding with Mr Blair should permit "a

rapid forward movement" towards inclusive talks on the future of Northern Ireland. Unscheduled talks between Mr Blair and Mr Bruton took place in New York, where the two leaders are attending the Earth Summit.

However, British officials said reports of a full agreement were exaggerated. "Nothing is finally tied down but they are making progress," said one British official who added: "There is a determination on all sides to move this forward." The British officials said Mr Blair would lay out his position in a speech tomorrow.

Mr Martin McGuinness, one of Sinn Féin's chief strategists and its chief negotiator in talks with government, repeated that his party was committed to peace and democratic dialogue in spite of last week's killing of two policemen in Northern Ireland by an IRA unit.

However, republican sources and Irish government officials said last night that the Sinn Féin leadership remained unsure of how to respond to the Anglo-Irish initiative because of the IRA's refusal as an organisation to declare a ceasefire as a precondition to Sinn Féin entering political talks.

Mr Gerry Adams [president of

Sinn Féin] is trying to bring the whole [republican] organisation behind him," an Irish government official said last night. "The question he has no sure answer to at the moment is whether the organisation is deliverable."

According to republican sources, the murders of the policemen were carried out by hardline IRA elements deeply distrustful of the peace process. Their view contrasts with that of some senior Sinn Féin officials who privately believe that what the British and Irish governments have offered so far is a compromise that should be accepted.

Siemens delivers Heathrow trains

By Charles Batchelor,
Transport Correspondent

The first of 14 trains which will provide a 15-minute express service between Heathrow airport and central London was handed over to BAA, the airports operator, yesterday by Siemens, the manufacturer.

The air-conditioned trains, which will travel at up to 160kph, have been designed to provide a faster link than is currently possible with the Underground railway and are expected to take 3,000 cars a day off the roads to Heathrow. They have been designed with extra space for air travellers' luggage and will have special passenger information screens.

Two of the Heathrow Express trains have been delivered while the rest are either on test in Germany and the Czech Republic or being built. The £50m (\$82.5m) train order was one of the few to be placed while the UK national rail network was being privatised.

Services will start in



The new trains will travel much faster than the existing Underground trains to Heathrow

about three months with train running to a temporary station near Heathrow where passengers will transfer to a shuttle bus. This journey will take 30 minutes. When the tunnels are complete, in June 1998, the journey time will fall to 15 minutes.

● In an attempt to reassure

its cabin crew staff who are being balloted to strike next month, British Airways said yesterday it had sent legally-binding personalised certificates to each of the 9,000 employees involved to re-endorse a guarantee that none of them will lose any money as a result of the company's plans for

restructuring pay. Robert Taylor writes.

Mr Bob Ayling, BA's chief executive, said the move demonstrated there was no justification for industrial action. The result of the ballot, held by the British Airlines Stewards and Stewardesses Association, is expected on Friday.

Soccer clubs are urged to launch own TV service

By Patrick Harverson
in London

Soccer's Premier League has been advised to set up its own television service when its deal with BSkyB, the satellite broadcaster in which Mr Rupert Murdoch's group holds the biggest stake, expires in 2001.

In an interim report sent to clubs a fortnight ago, Oliver & Orlitzki, the media consultancy hired earlier this year to advise on pay-per-view television, says the £570m (\$1.1bn) which BSkyB is paying the clubs for live Premiership football over the next four years represents only half the real value of the rights to BSkyB.

The consultancy calculates top-flight football will be worth £1.3bn to the satellite broadcaster over the next four years, and says that if the league is to gain the full financial benefits of its popularity it should consider setting up a dedicated Premier League pay TV service.

This would involve the league subcontracting the production of programmes to a specialist television company and leasing satellite capacity to cable subscribers and dish owners. That way, the Premier League would receive all the revenues generated by coverage of its matches, as opposed to having to share the revenues with BSkyB.

The recommendations are likely to be received favourably by Premiership clubs, a growing number of which are reportedly unhappy about how much BSkyB is making from the league.

The clubs are paid a flat fee for live coverage of games, which means they have no way of benefiting financially from growth in BSkyB's subscriptions.

"The sport realises it is the main driver of television subscriptions, and rather than the tail wagging the dog it should be the other way round," said one Premier League chairman yesterday. He said setting up a television service could pave the way for the Premier League to list its shares on the stock market.

UK NEWS DIGEST

Supreme Court backs Lloyd's

Lloyd's of London has finally won the taking of the US Supreme Court in a case which last year almost derailed its recovery plan. US Names still fights Lloyd's yesterday lost their battle to appeal against landmark ruling last August.

This had upheld clauses in contracts with Lloyd's, under which Names - individuals whose assets were traditionally supported the market - waived rights to sue the insurance market outside the UK. The Supreme Court's decision not to grant an appeal, sustained in a brief statement of only two lines, may have implications in other outstanding cases against Lloyd's.

The society is appealing against a decision by a California court earlier this year in favour of Names. Lloyd's has said it would go to the Supreme Court to get this decision overturned. It completed the recovery plan to reinstate more than £11bn (\$18.15bn) of old loss last September.

Christopher deans, London

■ INVESTMENT WATCHDOG

Service group fined \$190,000

One of the country's leading financial services groups was hit by a record £115,000 (\$190,000) fine from the Personal Investment Authority yesterday. It was the second six-figure fine that Godwins, of Farnborough, Hampshire, in south-west England, has received from regulators in the past year. Last October, it was fined £200,000 by the Investment Management Regulatory Organisation for pensions mis-selling. The authority said this is the biggest it has handed out - related to pension plan (PFP) administration and compliance failure. Godwins failed to "arrange proper protection for customers' assets by way of segregation and identification of these assets," the regulator said. Christopher Brown-Hills, London

■ MINISTER'S REPRIMAND

Pension companies 'arrogant'

Mrs Helen Liddell, the Treasury minister in charge of financial regulation, will today reprimand two pension companies over their "arrogant" attitude towards resolving the personal pensions mis-selling scandal. She understood the will not call them to account for failing to make faster progress.

Last month, Mrs Liddell lambasted the 24 big mis-selling offenders for slow progress over the row, and asked them to detail the resources being allocated. She is expected to make the replies public by placing them in the House of Commons library. One source said: "Both these companies have shown arrogance in the sense of their replies. They have underestimated the strength of feeling on the matter." More than 500,000 people may have been mis-sold a pension, but so far only 12,650 have been compensated.

Christopher Brown-Hills, London

■ ENERGY TECHNOLOGY

Industry backs emissions move

Industry yesterday welcomed the government's move to encourage the use of combined heat and power (CHP) technology, saying it provided financial and environmental benefits to companies.

CHP will play an important part in the government's programme to meet tough emission controls. Yesterday in New York, Mr Tony Blair, prime minister, said a UK would seek to reduce carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions by 20 per cent compared to their 1990 level by 2010.

Mr John Prescott, deputy prime minister, has written to 320 companies in the chemicals, engineering, food and drink sectors of the economy inviting them to review their potential for CHP in their sector.

This week, Heinz, the consumer goods group, said it had awarded a £25m (\$47.8m) contract to BE Energy to design, build and operate a CHP plant at its factory in north London.

Simon Holberton, London

■ CARTEL ALLEGATIONS

Suppliers accused of collusion

Five suppliers of protective polyester film for glass have been accused of colluding on tenders by the Office of Fair Trading. The companies - Banafix, Bostwicks, Dulux, Berkeley, Kent and Parasol Energy and Paint Protection Services - have been referred to the Restrictive Practices Court.

The agreement came to light as a result of investigations following a complaint to the OFT's cartels taskforce on its hotline.

David Wighton, London

Forecasters warn of rough ride for economy

By Wolfgang Münchau
in London

Interest rates should be increased by a further half point to 7 per cent to dampen consumer spending, the Society of Business Economists, a group of economic forecasters, warned yesterday. In its latest economic forecast, the group predicts a rough ride for the economy over the next 2½ years.

The forecast, drawn up three weeks ago, suggests that inflation will increase from 2.8 per cent in 1997 to 3.5 per cent in 1998 before falling back to 2.4 per cent in 1999. Growth in gross domestic product is set to fall to 2.0 per cent in 1999, after 3.2 per

cent this year and 2.7 per cent in 1998.

Mr David Kern, chairman of the SBE forecasting group, said it was assumed that interest rates would rise to 7 per cent by the end of the year, and remain at that level throughout 1998. But he added that the interest rate assumption may turn out to be too optimistic.

Today, Mr Kern, who is also chief economist of National Westminster bank, will recommend that the monetary committee of the Bank of England, the UK central bank, raises interest rates by a half point from 3.5 per cent to 7 per cent at its next meeting.

He said the economy did

not face a slump, but the current mini-boom would not last either. "This is not a repetition of 1988, but it will be pretty rough nevertheless. Even a 7 per cent interest rate will have a marked effect because the economy is more flexible."

According to the forecast, consumer expenditure will fall from a peak growth rate of 4.4 per cent this year, to 2.9 per cent in 1998 and 1.2 per cent in 1999. There will be a particularly marked decline in gross fixed invest-

ment, forecast to grow at a rate of 7.4 per cent this year, but falling to 5.1 per cent in 1998 and 3.5 per cent in 1999.

Manufacturing investment is forecast to show negative growth of minus 1.1 per cent to 1999. Average earnings growth is expected to remain broadly stable at 4.5 per cent this year, falling to 4.8 per cent in 1999.

The SBE said the economic surge was driven by consumer spending, the housing market and windfalls from building societies (mutually-owned savings and loans institutions) estimated at £300m (£49.5bn).

"The subsequent slowdown in 1998 and 1999, in response to tougher policies necessary to counter acceler-

ating demand and higher inflation, will be quite sharp, but there will be no outright recession," the SBE said.

● Property shortages affecting many areas appear to be easing, the latest housing market survey from the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors indicated yesterday. It suggested that more homes might be put on the market once the uncertainty of the July 2 Budget was out of the way.

Acute property shortages

have been driving up prices in many areas, resulting in queues of potential buyers.

However, the number of properties for sale is now

showing a "much-needed upward turn", said the institution.

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As a business traveller, wouldn't it be great if the airline you fly most often were linked to other major airlines that could fly you anywhere you wanted to go. Smoothly. Effortlessly. Efficiently. Wouldn't it be great if you had access to more airport lounges. And when flying on any of these major airlines, you could earn

mileage points that count towards higher status in any of their frequent flyer programmes. Wouldn't it be great if you could enjoy the same high standards of service whenever and wherever you fly. That's the idea behind Star Alliance: a network of Lufthansa, Air Canada, SAS, THAI, and United Airlines. A fundamental

NEWS: UK

Taxpayers may have to settle companies' and banks' costs as government dumps initiative projects

Contractors urge private finance compensation

By Nicholas Timmins
in London

Big contractors and banks are to seek reimbursement from the taxpayer for millions of pounds they have spent on tendering for private finance initiative deals as the government cuts the number of projects in order to get the PFI moving.

Mr Malcom Bates, the chairman of Pearl Assurance, brought in by the government to sort out the initiative, recommended yesterday that when the government decides not to proceed on grounds other than the viability of the tenders

submitted, "contractors' costs should be refunded". Mr Geoffrey Robinson, the paymaster general, said yesterday that he favoured it. He added, however, that "it must be for the sole reason that the government has pulled the plug" and that in every other respect the project looked viable. The PFI

privately-owned trust which could borrow cash on the capital markets without an increase in public spending totals.

The move appeals to Mr Prescott because it stops short of the "whole-sale privatisation" of the crumbling network ruled out in Labour's election manifesto. Mr Prescott was annoyed

and embarrassed by the disclosure last week that he is considering the effective privatisation of the railway by selling a majority shareholding in the business to the private sector.

Financial advisers are expected to be appointed within the next few weeks to propose the best options.

He is going to the Department of Health with some projects where we believe there should be reimbursement," she said.

The possibility of reimbursement came as Mr Robinson announced that a new Treasury taskforce with a projects chief executive, recruited from the private sector, is to drive the initiative throughout, replacing the eight-strong private finance panel and 20-strong executive.

In future, the commercial viability of projects will be signed off by the Treasury before they are formally advertised - allowing depart-

ments to "road-test" projects before they go for procurement.

Departmental units are to be strengthened by bringing in deal-making, and project management expertise and documentation will be standardised to cut costs.

The detailed package received a broad welcome from banks, builders and the CBI which said: "It is what we wanted to hear".

PFI should also be used to tackle backlog maintenance in hospitals and schools, the report says, with local authorities packaging together separate pieces of repair work.

Windfall tax 'may fall foul of energy treaties'

By David Wighton,
Political Correspondent

The government's windfall tax on the profits of privatised utilities could face a serious legal challenge under international treaties according to a leading expert on international energy law.

An international tribunal could conclude that the levy amounted to "creeping expropriation", claims Professor Thomas Walde, professor of European economic and energy law at Dundee University in Scotland and a former adviser on energy law to the United Nations.

The government's proposals could also fall foul of the 1994 Energy Charter Treaty which outlaws "confiscatory taxation".

In an unpublished paper, Prof Walde plays down the chances of a legal challenge succeeding under European Union rules or the European Convention on Human Rights. These have been the areas on which most legal experts have focused, with most agreeing that while challenges would be possible they would be highly unlikely to succeed.

But Prof Walde believes the "most potent" challenge could be based on customary and treaty-based international law. "It is here that one cannot exclude that a challenge of the UK windfall tax may have some chance of success."

Customary international law protects investors against confiscation without full compensation, and recent international tribunals have concluded that taxation can be so heavy as to be tantamount to expropriation, says Prof Walde.

"Foreign investors could, under the sponsorship of their home governments, claim compensation equal to the value of the tax," says Prof Walde. They could also appeal to the principle of "proportionality" by arguing that the UK government should change the companies' regulatory regimes rather than impose a tax.

Prof Walde believes investors could also seek protection under the Energy Charter Treaty, signed by the UK and 48 other countries in 1994, which has so far been ignored by other commentators. Because it has not been signed by the US, the treaty could only be used by EU investors in UK electricity and gas companies. But Prof Walde says the treaty provides "far-reaching" protection in the energy sector.

The UK Treasury yesterday declined to say whether its legal advice had included consideration of the Energy Charter Treaty.

Up to 1m may staff call centre 'factories'

By Robert Taylor,
Employment Editor

Up to 1m people will be working in call centres outside London and south-east England by the end of the century, in what a report published today describes as the "industrialisation of white-collar work".

The call centres will mainly provide financial sales, ticketing or computer advice by telephone, according to the report on 33 centres by Incomes Data Services, the independent employment research body. It estimates that call centres already employ 250,000 workers, about 12 per cent of the UK labour force.

The report says work methods are based on the scientific management theories of Frederick Winslow Taylor and the mass volume production methods of Henry Ford.

"The seven-day continuous nature of the operations is more akin to manufacturing than a more traditional day-work arrangement for white-collar staff," says the study. "Productivity targets or piecework quotas are also borrowed from a more manufacturing background."

The majority of the call centres are in Northern Ireland, Scotland, the north-east of England and Merseyside, in north-west England. This is due to two factors, the report says: the determination of companies to escape from the high wage pressures in the south-east, and the provision of regional development grants which has made opening centres in some of the more depressed regions more attractive.

The work carried out in the centres is highly diverse, covering sales and marketing, customer services, technical assistance and emergency response.

Conservatives face years in wilderness

The main opposition party has little hope of damaging the government, says John Kampfner

New leader or not, the Conservatives face a desperately difficult task of undermining the Labour government's hegemony. Facing a Labour majority of 179 in the House of Commons, Mr William Hague has to develop a form of oppositional politics that helps him restore the Conservatives to electoral respectability.

Mr Hague will have to do that in the assumption that, over the course of the next five years, he is unlikely to win a single vote in the Commons. Senior Conservatives are resigned to the honeymoon period for Mr Tony Blair, the prime minister, lasting up to and including the annual Labour party conference in October.

There have already been alibis by the government, for example over its relations with the governor of the Bank of England and with executives of Camelot, the consortium which runs the National Lottery. Yet these were all self-inflicted, with no help from the Conservatives.

Unlike Labour in opposition, the Conservatives will not be able to count on support from the pro-European

Liberal Democrat party. Their only chance of damaging the government's legislative timetable will come in the House of Lords, the unelected upper House where they enjoy a huge in-built majority. However, they will be reluctant to use it. They know that such defiance would strengthen the government's resolve to abolish voting rights for hereditary lords, as the first step towards making the second chamber more representative of parties' support with the electorate.

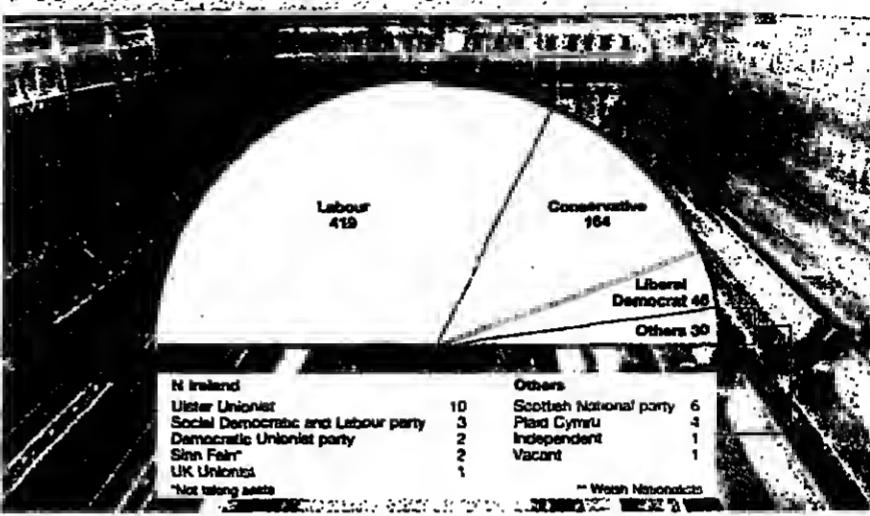
The Conservatives are unlikely to fare much better in committees of the House of Commons. The government is expected to announce their composition this week. These are likely to give the Conservatives only four out of 15 seats on the larger, all-party bodies, with nine for Labour and two for the Liberal Democrats.

Yet even if they fail to win a parliamentary battle, over time they could begin to win arguments. For that to happen, however, they will require not just serious Labour blunders but the ability to practise forensic

"The first thing I'm going to do is to memorise Labour's election manifesto," said a member of the new shadow cabinet. "Just wait until the hospital waiting lists go up. That's when we can get at them."

The bravado presupposes that the Tories will claw

Opposition parties feel the squeeze



William Hague's top team

	Role in John Major's government
IN	
Shadow chancellor of the exchequer	Peter Lilley
Shadow foreign secretary	Michael Howard
Shadow home secretary	Brian Moynihan
Shadow defence secretary	Sir George Young
Shadow trade and industry secretary	John Redwood
Shadow agriculture minister	David Curry
Shadow environment and heritage	Sir Norman Fowler
Shadow N Ireland secretary	Andrew Mackay
OUT	
	John Major
	Michael Heseltine
	Kenneth Clarke
	Douglas Hogg

their way back between now and the next election. The question for them is how far they can erode the Labour majority in 2002. Yet that obscures a potentially more depressing scenario. Statistics suggest that unless Mr Hague and his team transform the Conservative image, they could fare even worse next time around.

Of the 165 Conservative MPs returned on May 1, some can thank fear of an untried Labour government

a paper published by the Social Market Foundation, a think-tank, Nicholas Timmins writes.

But Conservatives should be careful about what else they copy from the Republicans' Contract

with America, says the authors, Mr Tim Hames, a leader writer on The Times newspaper in London, and Mr Alan Grant, a politics lecturer at Oxford Brookes University.

They say differences between Britain and the US mean Republican ideas for welfare reform should be treated with caution.

Leader plans tough anti-sleaze regime for MPs

By Liam Halligan
in London

Conservative MPs found guilty of financial impropriety will be sacked and donations to party funds from overseas and anonymous donors will be banned under plans being considered by Mr William Hague, the new leader of the opposition Conservative party.

Mr Hague wants to discipline MPs engaged in "sleaze" and to clean up party funding as part of a

broader review of party rules. Completing appointments to a predominantly rightwing shadow cabinet over the weekend, Mr Hague surprised MPs by giving senior posts to two former ministers who had been widely expected to spend this parliament on the back benches of the House of Commons.

Mr Brian Mawhinney was appointed shadow home secretary and Sir Norman Fowler became shadow environment and transport secretary. Both men are former chairmen of the party. Mr David Heathcoat Amory, who resigned from Mr John Major's government over the single European currency, has been appointed shadow chief secretary to the Treasury.

Mr Peter Lilley, shadow chancellor, has emerged as Mr Hague's effective deputy leader, being granted a broad remit to rethink party policy. No shadow secretaries have been appointed for Scotland and Wales, but Mr Michael Ancram will shadow Labour on devolution.

Referring to Mr Hague's review of internal party powers and

authority, Lord Parkinson, party chairman, said the aim was to provide a "unifying force".

"There's no point in pretending that parliament is full of people who are angelic," he said on BBC television. "If people kick over the traces or cross the line, then they have to accept the consequences - whether Conservative, Labour or Liberal Democrat."

Mr Hague should adopt US Republican ideas for a flat rate of income tax as a way to restore the Conservative party's fortunes, says

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Precision agriculture may help increase the world's food production capacity, writes Sara Abdulla

Smart work on the farm

As the human race nears the limits of global food production capacity, using present technologies, scientists and population experts are increasingly pinning their hopes on precision agriculture or "smart farming".

A technology which was first adopted by sugar beet and potato farmers in the mid-1980s is fast emerging as a weapon in the battle to raise agricultural yields. In the 1990s academics and farmers wrote their own computer software. Now, with satellite networks and small, powerful computers becoming commonplace, a handful of US companies are producing smart farming software for every eventuality.

The big names include Farmer Software, Microtrack and AgLeader with yield-mapping programs, and AgChem (formerly SoilTech) with a fertiliser spreading package.

Interest in smart farming is growing because of the world food situation. In the 1990s most nations were self-sufficient in food, but 30 years on the situation could not be more different.

According to Rudy Rabbinge, member of the Scientific Council for Government Policy in the Netherlands, already a fifth of the planet's 5.5bn people are starving and the population is set to double by 2050. For farmers to provide every one of the 10bn people who will be alive 50 years from now with sufficient calories to survive, they will have to produce as much food in the coming 50 years as humankind has produced since agriculture began, says Rabbinge.

Unfortunately, nearly all the world's productive land – flat and with water – is already exploited, and much of it is already quite degraded. Arable land could be expanded by roughly a third at the expense of forest and rangeland. But much of this is essential in its present uses for environmental reasons, and productivity in these areas would be much below levels in land currently being cropped.

International delegates at a recent precision agriculture symposium in Wageningen, the Netherlands, jointly organised by the European Environmental Research Organisation and The Ciba Foundation agreed that the only sustainable, economically feasible, environmentally friendly and socially acceptable way for farmers to avert the imminent food shortages will be to increase their yields drastically per hectare using precision agriculture.

So far in this century mechanisation, synthetic fertilisers, herbicides, pesticides and genetic engineering have increased yields by more than 20-fold in the developed world. But they have also led to a relentless expansion of farm size. Until very recently, this meant that the agribusinessman prepared, planted, nurtured and harvested a crop on a whole-field (or more) basis, ignoring the sometimes enormous variations in soil type, weed density and other factors.

Precision farmed fields are subdivided into small, relatively homogeneous management zones so that fertiliser, herbicide, seed density, irrigation, drainage and tillage can be custom-managed.

"In the past we looked upon heterogeneity as a liability," says Rabbinge. "Now we are realising that it can be an asset."

Just as the gardener knows which part of the garden needs more watering and a bigger handful of compost, so the precision farmer tailors his actions as closely to the variations in his land as weather forecasts, mapping data, time and money allow.

Satellites such as Landsat, JERS and Spot and small computers are fundamental to precision agriculture. Maps of soil type and weed density generated from soil sampling, yield monitoring, remote satellite sensing or aircraft video imaging are stored by a computer in the cab of the farmer's tractor, spreader or

satellite signals to a Global Positioning System (GPS) pack-

age in the computer update it on the vehicle's position in the field.

Thus, with the aid of treatment maps also held by the computer, the farming machinery can vary its action – seeding, spraying, or ploughing – according to the characteristics of its location.

Supporters of precision farming say that by minimising waste and maximising efficacy, the technique pays off financially and environmentally. Encour-



Weeding between the lines: old-style precision agriculture is hard work

aged by training initiatives set up by Pierre Robert, the "grandfather" of precision agriculture from the University of Minnesota, 80 per cent of farmers in Minnesota now use precision farming techniques because it increases their profits by up to \$30 per hectare. In addition, accurate spatial and temporal targeting of herbicides, pesticides and fertilisers can reduce the overall volume needed by up to 90 per cent.

Although start-up costs are still high, precision agriculture is already used on between 2m ha and 3m ha of US farmland.

"It doesn't take any salesmanship to convince a farmer that uniform management is inefficient, he knows that," points out David Muller, holder of the WE Larson Chair of Soil and Water Resources at the University of Minnesota. "But obviously more people would adopt precision agriculture if the equipment were cheaper, easier and more accessible."

However, many less affluent farmers are so excited about precision agriculture that they are forming co-operatives to spread the initial investment costs.

And, Muller adds, it makes sense: the profit from slightly increasing, for example, tuber size in only 10 per cent of an average potato field would pay for the introduction of precision agriculture technology.

Sara Abdulla is science writer in residence at the Ciba Foundation.

Uniform spraying weeded out

A UK company will this year launch the first commercial version of a revolutionary spraying system that could cut the amount of herbicide needed to control grass weeds in cereal crops by up to 70 per cent, writes Sara Abdulla.

Micron Sprayers, the UK-based pesticide-application specialists, will be unveiling the British-designed Patch Sprayer at an agricultural equipment show. The machine should be available in the next 12 to 18 months.

The system was developed by researchers at Silsoe Research Institute. John Stafford, research leader at the institute, says the deal with Micron will make available to the working farmer a machine that until recently seemed destined to remain purely a research tool.

Encouraged by the advent of genetically-engineered, herbicide-resistant crops, conventional sprayers are designed to cover a field uniformly, at great financial and environmental expense.

But weed and disease distribution are far from uniform. To accommodate variations, the Patch Sprayer has a 12m spraying boom divided into two sections, each with a separately controllable sprayline that can deliver four different levels of herbicide.

As the sprayer moves across a field it receives real-time satellite updates on its position. The boom is controlled automatically by a pre-planned weed treatment map, which is carried by the computer in the sprayer cab.

Stafford is adamant that

the sprayer will find a market, despite its complexity. "Farmers are extremely enthusiastic about the patch sprayer because they can see the need for it with one pass at a field," he says.

Unlike ordinary sprayers, which transport ready-mixed herbicide, the patch sprayer tank contains only pure water. Because herbicide is mixed on the move, in response to demand from the boom, only a fraction of the plumbing contains dilute herbicide, minimising waste and pollution when the system is flushed out at the end of a job.

An even more accurate experimental sprayer developed at Silsoe, which uses infra-red video imagery to distinguish plants from weeds, was reported on this page on June 7, 1996.

CONTRACTS & TENDERS

TENDER NOTICE

PROCUREMENT OF TELEPHONE SETS

The HUNGARIAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS CO. LTD. (HTC) now invites sealed bids for the design, manufacture and delivery of telephone sets.

The procurement of telephone sets is scheduled for 1998-1999.

The quantity of telephone sets, HTC intends to purchase in the coming two years, is as follows:

- 1998: 350,000 pieces
- 1999: 150,000 pieces

The above quantities are subject to modification by HTC by plus or minus 20 (twenty) per cent as actual demand requires.

For the supply of 1998:

As a result of the Bid evaluation, two Suppliers will be awarded. The first ranked Supplier will be requested to deliver 60 (sixty) per cent of the quantity indicated above for 1998, while the second ranked Supplier will be requested to deliver 40 (forty) per cent of it.

For the supply of 1999:

Late 1998 the two awarded Suppliers shall compete again for the higher portion - 60 (sixty) per cent - of the deliveries as indicated above for 1999.

Interested companies and consortia, who have the capability to complete this project may inspect the Tender Documents and may purchase them from June 24th, 1997 at the following address:

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Mr. Tamás Vincze, Sales Executive
Budapest, HU, Művész utca 25-28, 1027 Hungary
Tel.: (+36-1) 262-6863
Fax: (+36-1) 261-9117 or 261-9004

upon payment of a non-refundable fee of USD 250 (domestic companies shall pay HUF 46,500. VAT included). Remittances shall be made to the account # 10600007-22949003 kept by Intellitrade Co. Ltd. with CITIBANK Budapest. The following reference shall be made:

Tender No. IT-336/VT

The Tender Documents will be available upon presentation of the receipt of the effected remittance. The Bidder may ask for mailing the Tender Documents to his address, if he sends the above receipt to Intellitrade and undertakes to pay the mailing costs.

Bids shall be delivered to the above address not later than 10.00 a.m. August 11th, 1997.

All bids shall be accompanied by a bid security. In case of foreign Bidders the bid security shall not be less than 100,000USD or its equivalent in any freely convertible currency. In case of Hungarian Bidders the bid security shall not be less than 15 million HUF.

Only the Bids of those Bidders will proceed to the evaluation who meet the qualification criteria which is stipulated in the Tender Documents.

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Toshiba: Exciting Times Ahead as Corporate Commitment to Europe Pays Off in New Products

After his first year at the reins of Toshiba, Taizo Nishimuro reviews the results of the commitment the electronics giant has made to Europe and reflects on the conditions for success in the future.

by Roger Williams



Mr. Taizo Nishimuro, President and Chief Executive Officer, Toshiba Corporation

Williams: There is great interest in Europe on the impact of EMU and what can be expected of the unified EU market. How do you see this? Are you, and Toshiba, optimistic?

Nishimuro: Yes, I think so. There are uncertainties, but the general impression in Japan is that unification will have a positive influence on European growth and development. Over the last thirty years, Toshiba has established and promoted European operations in all our core businesses, and we will continue to develop them and to grow with the market. We now have 26 subsidiaries and affiliates, including six manufacturing operations, with over 4,200 employees. Many of these companies are led by excellent, locally-hired executives. We also have distributors and dealer networks throughout Europe.

An Ongoing 30-Year Commitment to European Operations

Williams: So Europe is important to your international business strategy?

Nishimuro: It's one of our three major overseas markets, with the U.S. and Asia, and currently accounts for 22% of overseas sales. While Europe doesn't see the break-neck growth rates of Asia, it does offer steady business and growth. And as the Eastern European countries adapt to the market in coming years, we can expect to see more business opportunities there. On top of that, Europe remains a wellspring of innovation. For instance, there is a strong commitment to developing digital broadcasting, and Europe is very advanced in telecommunications, a key area in coming years. We have close relations with a number of Europe's leading companies, including the EMI Group and Siemens.

Williams: Does Toshiba enjoy any advantages in its European business?

Nishimuro: Quite a few, and they all grow from the long-term commitment we've made to operations there, including manufacturing. Let me give you just a few recent milestones. Last year, Toshiba Consumer Products in the UK marked 15 years of manufacturing TVs and production of its 100,000th commercial-use air-conditioner. In our computer



TV production line at Toshiba Consumer Products in the UK boasts high productivity and high local content.

business, we celebrated production of the 1,000,000th PC at our computer plant in Germany. In France, Toshiba Systèmes (France), which manufactures copiers, is expanding its toner production facilities.

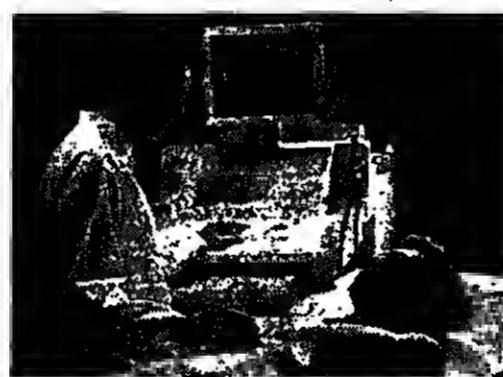
Our Facilities in Europe are Star Performers

The fact that we are long established in Europe has allowed us to build up our manufacturing base and capabilities. I'm pleased to say that our facilities in Europe are star performers. They show an excellent commitment to productivity and to small group quality activities, and all of them meet the highest environmental standards, such as ISO 14001 and EMAS, the European Community's eco-management and audit scheme. These facilities are also innovators. Our PC plant in Regensburg, Germany, has replaced traditional production lines with U-shaped lines, where a single worker or small teams handle all aspects of assembly. This has greatly enhanced productivity and the flexibility needed for producing a wide range of models with local requirements.

Williams: What are your most successful products in Europe?

Nishimuro: Portable computers are undoubtedly the first that spring to mind. We are the clear number one in portable PCs worldwide, and in Europe we took close to 25% of the market in 1996. And all the portable PCs we sell in Europe are manufactured there, and have been since 1990, a claim no other vendor can make, I think.

But our success is not confined to computers. We are a top manufacturer in medical



PowerVision full digital high-end diagnostic ultrasound system reinforcing Toshiba's leading position in medical imaging.

imaging systems, dominant in the worldwide and European markets for diagnostic ultrasound equipment. Our technological superiority in imaging and a wide product line-up help us keep this position. Sales of our business copiers enjoy a higher growth rate than the industry average in Europe, positioning us among the market leaders. We are also doing very well with large-screen TVs and VCRs in the UK, where we are vying for the top position.

Another encouraging market is that for commercial-use air-conditioners, which we have been making at Plymouth for five years or so. They are increasingly found in restaurants and shops, and I expect to see growth there. We are also a leading supplier of a wide variety of cutting-edge semiconductors.

Strengths in Portable Computers, Medical Imaging Systems, Air-Conditioners, Copiers, TVs, VCRs...

Williams: What is the outlook for semi-

conductors in Europe?

Nishimuro: Last year was a difficult one. Prices slumped, and most semiconductor manufacturers took a pounding. The market will recover this year, and I want us to respond by building on our strengths in all aspects of the business; in our semiconductor assembly and finishing at Braunschweig in Germany, and in our support for customers. We are very well positioned for the move towards building entire systems on a single chip, one of the most important trends in the semiconductor market. In this connection, we opened the European LSI Design & Engineering Centre in Düsseldorf in October last year.

Williams: Europe is clearly important to Toshiba. But what can Toshiba contribute to Europe?

Nishimuro: Well, the first thing is that, as far as possible, we want to manufacture products for Europe within Europe, contributing to local employment and the economy. Then again, we are not only transferring some of our most advanced technology to Europe, we also promote R&D there. The Toshiba Cambridge Research Centre is studying application of quantum physics to future semiconductors.

Another important contribution is the fact that we have made Europeans largely responsible for running our operations there. Indeed, the proportion of our companies headed by local citizens is higher in Europe than in any other part of the world. We know that Europe is many different markets, and so in almost every national market we have given top responsibility to local managers, on the principle that they will know their markets better than any Japanese could be expected to.

Williams: How would you express Toshiba's approach to business?

Nishimuro: Our main growth areas, where we are concentrating resources, are electronic components, computers, telecommunications, digital systems and multimedia. These are all fast-changing businesses, driven by cutting-edge technologies. To survive in these markets, we must be an agile company. This is my constant refrain.

The priority is on agility, the ability to anticipate and facilitate change

When I say agile, I don't only mean quick or responsive. I mean developing as clear a vision as possible of the future, working to achieve it, and also constantly revising it to take account of business developments. No-one can read the future, but if we study the market, listen to customers and build up our knowledge base, really get inside industry trends, we can position Toshiba for market leadership. If we are agile enough, we will be able to anticipate change, and incorporate it in our technologies and products. It is not enough just to respond to changes after they have taken place. That is not the way to success.

Williams: If you apply this approach to Europe, what products can we expect to see?

Nishimuro: I think we are in for an exciting few years. In computers, we are poised to introduce desktop PCs to Europe, our biggest move since we introduced the first laptop back in 1985. We want to see Toshiba positioned as the world's third largest computer company by the year 2000, offering products ranging from mininotebook PCs to PC servers. Towards this end, we have developed two series of desktops: Infinia for the home market and Equium for business users.



With the Equum desktop range Toshiba is building on its leadership in portable PCs.

We have launched Equum in the UK, France and Germany, and Infinia in France, where the retail market is stronger. We have also launched the Libretto mininotebook PC, already a huge hit in Japan. Libretto is the world's smallest full-spec portable computer for Windows 95. Its low, 850-gram weight makes for excellent mobility.

In copiers, I expect to see digitalisation and network connectivity create new generations of products that handle everything from document copying to distribution and storage. We will be launching innovative products in this area and using them to consolidate our market position.

Exciting Years Ahead, with a Slew of Innovative Products Coming to Market

We are also bringing DVD to the European market. I am sure the excellent image and sound quality of DVD-Video will have a major impact, even to the point of stimulating demand for large and wide-screen TVs. Beyond that, I see DVD-ROM drives replacing CD-ROM drives in PCs, first in high-end computers, then in most models.

Looking a little further to the future, advanced digital networks are going to have a major impact on how we work and entertain ourselves. We are developing the infrastructure technologies required for these networks, including high-speed ATM switches and routers.

Williams: And a final comment?

Nishimuro: I'm pleased to say I shall be playing a more direct role in introducing new products. Last March, in Tokyo, we held a six-day exhibition of our emerging technologies and products, "Tomorrow 21". I will chair the committee responsible for bringing those technologies to market. I'm really looking forward to it. I think you will be seeing some startling new products from Toshiba.

In Touch with Tomorrow
TOSHIBA

BUSINESS BOOKS

Corporate re-engineering - with a smile

Jeremy Myerson finds that learning how small companies build an innovation culture in order to succeed and grow does not necessarily make dull reading

They line every airport bookshop - rows of business-pamphlets volumes which purport to tell you how to be a manager in minutes or make a million in weeks, how to re-engineer your company or discover its soul. *Winners!* parodies the formula, especially in its racy title, punny graphics, relentlessly upbeat case studies and fondness for checklists. But it does so with tongue firmly planted in cheek.

This is not the latest world-beater from the school of American management gurus, designed to drum up trade on the lucrative executive conference circuit. Its English author and editor John Thackara admits at the outset that there are not 10 easy steps to building an innovation culture within your company.

Instead he makes the case for steadily building knowledge about best practice as the smartest way to beat the competition. He is careful to avoid instant panaceas and derives most of his data from the winning companies in the European Design Prize 1997, sponsored by the European Commission.

In fact, here is a book that will set the Eurosceptics' teeth on edge. It arrives via the bureaucrats of Brussels and comes complete with an amodyne preface by Edith Cresson, the European Commissioner for research, education and training. However, its message about the future of Europe in the context of changes in design, technology and business culture is one that is hard to dismiss.

The bottom line is that Europe is becoming increasingly dependent on its 15m smaller companies which now account for two-thirds of all jobs. To compete successfully and grow, those companies must innovate, hence the European Design Prize's energetic promotion of new ideas, technologies, markets and products.

Thackara, a former journalist and head of research at the Royal College of Art in London, is today director of the Netherlands Design Institute in Amsterdam. He has marshalled the 75 prize-winning companies - shortlisted from 365 companies across Europe - into different categories of innovation.

There are innovators that literally reinvent the wheel - the fast-growing UK company Dyson, for example, has introduced bagless vacuum cleaners to our homes while the Norwegian chair-maker Stokke has encouraged executives to hold their meetings while in the reclining position.

Then there are innovators that have responded to the ecological movement, with waste disposal units, recycled domestic accessories and, in the case of British enterprise ITG, wound dressings.

Winners! How Today's Successful Companies Innovate by Design
By John Thackara
Cower, 480 pages, £18

for the healthcare sector made from biodegradable materials such as seaweed and chitin, a sugar extracted from prawns and seashells.

There are innovators that specialise in customising their products in order to meet the differing needs of customers, such as Austrian watch strap maker Hirsch or German furniture manufacturer Vitra; innovators that are providing tools for urban regeneration, such as makers of playground equipment, street furniture, emergency lighting and signage; and innovators that are combining technology with the body, such as producers of hearing aids, brain scan helmets, children's spectacle frames, and heart and blood pressure monitors.

Wherever there are problems - such as inner-city decay, ageing populations, straining social services, job insecurity, environmental fragility - Thackara sees the positive side in terms of the new market opportunities that they create.

And his fact-file gleaned from sources across the world, fairly bulges with evidence to support the European Union's definition of innovation as "a state of mind combining creativity, entrepreneurship, willingness to take calculated risks, and an acceptance of some social, geographical or professional mobility".

With entire pages devoted to bold statements which tell us that people with hearing difficulty wait an average of seven years before seeking help or that the European ticket market will reach 1.2bn tickets a year if each adult buys two tickets every week, much of the material in *Winners!* is irritatingly banal and intensely fascinating at the same time.

There is an almost touching faith in new technology - in the wonders of smart materials, microchips and the internet - that is never allowed to waver because, to put it in crude terms, Europe has no option but to innovate its way out of a deepening demographic and economic hole.

In a curious way, *Winners!* makes its own contribution to the post-election debate about Britain's role in Europe - with the suggestion that isolationism will not help small innovative companies to grow.

But the book has the good sense to do so with the brisk flourish of standard airport lounge business reading. The only things that are missing are the gold-embossed letters on the cover.



The contrarian approach

Philip Coggan wonders whether this colourful but ruthless American trader is a money master or simply an eccentric

and buy Microsoft.

What Niederhoffer is trying to impart is an attitude of mind - the book might be subtitled "Zen and the Art of Money Management".

Niederhoffer is a commodity trader, associate of hedge fund guru George Soros and a former lecturer in finance. Brought up in Brooklyn, New York, he draws on the lessons taught by his family and the colourful friends formed in his youth.

He was sufficiently athletic and determined to become US National Squash champion five times. Despite this, the only five private squash clubs in Chicago would not admit him as a member because he was a Jew. Small wonder that he relishes the role

The Education of a Speculator
By Victor Niederhoffer
Joh Wiley,
444 pages, \$29.95

of lone trader battling against the big boys in the market.

As a trader, Niederhoffer's main strategy seems to be to look for patterns - relations between the prices of different securities, tendencies for sharp price falls to be quickly reversed - which can be mathematically tested and profitably exploited.

This contrarian approach to investment can be highly profitable in the long run but disastrous in the short run, especially

Knockabout fun rings with truth

Behind the satire this volume uses to swipe at the solutions of quick-fix business gurus, Peter Aspden finds plenty of good advice

One would think that, like movies about airplane disasters and the television mannerisms of John Major, certain types of self-help business book have ventured well beyond the grounds of parody. Yet here comes *The Book That's Sweeping America*, a satirical swipe at all those shrill panaceas and breathy commands to re-order your life, or else.

The targets are well-judged - the flow diagrams, the pie charts, the banal observations masquerading as homespun wisdom - but the most worrying thing about the book is how much of it can be taken seriously.

For example, in the section entitled "Resisting Change: The Forgetting Organisation", is there not a smidgeon of truth in the conclusion that: "People learn best from each other. But in downsized organisations, virtual organisations, or organisations with high turnover, there may not be anyone who has been on staff long enough to teach anything?"

The chapter on leadership asks us to "choose our own style" from a range of role models: Don King ("action-oriented"), Karl Marx ("good with concepts"), Madonna ("outspoken, leads by example").

All of this is rather silly but then we see a frighteningly realistic "pyramid paradigm" which puts management consultants at the top, training "experts" in the middle and, propping things up at the bottom, former employees that are on long-term contracts. It can be too near the knuckle to be funny.

Weary executives who have sat through endless second-rate residential courses will recognise the tone of the famous bonmies of the chapter headed "The Future Is Tomorrow: Time is getting shorter. Speed is getting faster. We're arriving at the New Millennium sooner than was predicted. We're building tomorrow

The Book That's Sweeping America or Why I Love Business!
By Stephen Michael Peter Thomas
John Wiley, 165 pages, £14.99

today, or tomorrow morning at the very latest. You're not getting any younger".

This is all good, knockabout fun a tempting *omes-sweat* if you are browsing in an airport bookstall and cannot quite stomach the earnest tomes displayed all around you promising instant success if you follow their exhortations.

But the book also bints at a deeper truth: that the age of the quick-fix business guru could be over.

The Book That's Sweeping America takes a swing at most of the prevailing theories of recent years; its humour is unsmbile, only intermittently amusing. But it was born in an widespread impatience with the cheap slogans that are offered as serious advice by so many authors on the make.

The changes in world politics over the past 10 years and the increasingly international nature of business have created a demand for proper, illuminating analysis. There is an acute understanding that the world's complexities cannot be reduced to tables of "How To" bullet points. It is perhaps a sign of the maturity of the business book market that *The Book That's Sweeping America* can be published at all.

Not that any of this worries Stephen Michael Peter Thomas. He knows which way the wind blows: "Good presentation skills, a modicum of knowledge, and plenty of high-level 'strategy talk' can make you as much money - and possibly lots more - than long hours and hard work."

Now that can't possibly be true, can it?

More about brains, less about brawn

Richard Donkin is left in no doubt that information and knowledge are becoming the world's most powerful resources

What kind of a society would we have if just 2 per cent of the population could produce all the goods needed by society - the cars, the hi-fi's, the television sets?

This question was posed by George Bennett, the founder of Symmetrix, a Massachusetts-based consultancy. Thomas Stewart gives the question some resonance when he points out that it is already the case in the US that less than 3 per cent of the population grows all the food that it needs.

The suggestion is that what remains is a knowledge society - a society that deals in information, works in information and profits from information. Stewart leaves us in no doubt that knowledge is quickly becoming the world's most powerful resource.

He illustrates just how quickly this is taking place by charting the development of the bean car, which was once made of steel but is now, in most cases, made of aluminium. The move to aluminium - a more expensive metal - was made possible by a series of progressive improvements in manufacturing which gradually reduced the weight of metal per car, making aluminium increasingly viable. Today's car, he argues, "contains dramatically less material and energy - and more brains".

But knowledge, unlike steel and aluminium, is not tangible. Harnessing the intangible and exploiting it for profits needs new approaches and structures. Failure to grasp this lesson has

structures are less applicable outside the confines of Silicon Valley.

Few companies can afford to be complacent. It was only 1987 that Fortune magazine declared Thomas J. Watson Jr., the one-time leader of International Business Machines as "the most successful capitalist in history". That was just six years before IBM lost a third of its work force and all of its profits.

The old corporate bonds tying employees to companies are melting away. The new careers, argues Stewart, are made within projects and markets, not hierarchies and not necessarily within an organisation. They are driven by expertise, not from a position. One problem with these changes, he concedes, is that too often employees are given much greater responsibility but do not have authority or control budgets.

This can frustrate a project leader. But the success of one project confers reputation which helps to build the necessary authority and scope for the next one.

The text lays down some important ideas on the organisation of today's businesses. Stewart's arguments are persuasive, founded on a wealth of detailed evidence and presented in a fluid mix of anecdotes and statistics. If there is one omission in a book dedicated to the business of knowledge, it is the lack of an index.

Neither is there much in the way of inspiration from those who have successfully exploited this great resource of the information age. What, for example, have they chosen to do with their newfound wealth? They haven't given it away. Instead they have built mansions "every bit as vulgarly luxurious as those built in Newport, Rhode Island, by the tycoons of the last century."

Some things, it seems, never change.

Intellectual Capital, The New Wealth of Organisations
By Thomas A. Stewart
Nicholas Brealey,
261 pages, £16.99

cost some of the best companies dearly.

Take Sony, for example, which was concerned to protect Betamax, its proprietary video-tape system from cloning. Matsushita licensed the rival VHS system cheaply to its competitors, creating a vast family of users, leaving Betamax to wither, starved of a market.

Apple made the same mistake with its Macintosh. This explains why companies such as Netscape and Sun Microsystems give away copies of their software, profiting instead from the various applications. "We want ubiquity first, then profitability," says Eric Schmidt, chief technology officer at Sun.

It is not just business that has often failed to understand the value of knowledge. The accountancy profession has also been slow to recognise this sometimes invisible asset.

Stewart brings some long-overdue insight into the way that business needs to change its management and employment structure if it is to exploit the accelerating speed of development brought about by the information revolution.

He dismisses sceptics who suggest that the old hierarchies are prevailing and that the new

Prognosis full of pessimism

Thailand's rapid economic rise has left its people torn between adherence to traditional ideas and embrace of western culture, says Victor Mallet

Thailand's Boom!
By Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker
Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai, Thailand, 271 pages, baht 420 (US\$17)

of society will it build?

The answers are not encouraging for those who believe that "Asian values" will protect a culturally secure south-east Asia from the social upheavals that have afflicted industrialising countries elsewhere in the world.

Thailand's Boom! breaks new ground in examining the rich and confusing mix of cultures that characterises today's Bangkok, and there are parts of the book that no one involved in a consumer industry would want to miss.

The book is especially good on the urban middle class and the obsessions of Thai teenagers, looking at everything from teen romance and popular music to the rise of television soap operas.

Life and language remain distinctly Thai, but cultural imports from China, Japan, the US and Europe - together with the inevitable social changes wrought by migration from village to city - take their toll.

Young Thais hang out in giant shopping malls and no longer defer to their elders, while their parents drink wine, move out of wooden houses into concrete housing complexes with names like "California Ville," and fall prey to religious cults much like their counterparts in the US. The "luk krung" (mixed race) look is fashionable for the singers, models and actors who are the role models for Thai teenagers and the look says: "I am Asian but I



Teenagers boom times may have brought growth to their country but by the time they reach adulthood will it be a place worth living in?

Sarah Murray

have borrowed from the west."

After casting a sceptical eye at the corruption of contemporary Thai politics, the environmental damage resulting from economic progress and the gap between the wealthy middle class and the poor slum-dwellers or villagers left behind by the industrial revolution, the authors ask whether Thailand - perhaps the best example of high-growth capitalism without the rule of law - will remain a country worth living in.

Their answer is that there are two possible scenarios. The "Low Road" scenario takes Thailand into Latin American-style politi-

cal instability and recession. The "High Road" takes it into better standards of education, greater equity, more deep-rooted democracy and sustained growth.

This book has appeared just as Thailand is undergoing a bout of economic jitters. There is a property glut, the financial sector is vulnerable, the currency is under pressure and exports are stagnant. The fact that the pessimists are likening Thailand's plight to previous crises in Mexico and Brazil means that the "Low Road" is not as impossible as it would have seemed only a couple of years ago.

BUSINESS BOOKS

Alexander Graham Bell is best remembered as the inventor of the telephone, the most important advance in human communications in the past 200 years.

He was granted the critical patent on March 7, 1876, when only 29 years old, in the most insightful passage in this long biography, James Mackay concludes: "It was his greatest achievement and he would never again equal it, far less surpass it, even though the rest of his long life would be devoted to scientific research and speculation."

Mackay draws parallels with a rival inventor, Thomas Alva Edison, arguing that Edison not only had the ideas, but the "discipline, tenacity, highly trained staff, equipment and vast technical resources to bring over a thousand of these ideas to practical, commercial fruition... where Edison was a hard-headed businessman as well as an inventive genius. Alec Bell was a dilettante".

Capable, when the mood took him, of sustained bursts of inventiveness which saw him working

Unclear line to the underlying physics

A biography of the creator of the telephone is let down by its explanation of the science behind the invention, says Alan Cane

obviously night after night, he was also notorious for procrastination and neglecting a project when another took his fancy.

Bell came perilously close to losing his opportunity of immortality. Only hours after Hubbard, acting on his own initiative, had submitted a formal patent application for the telephone on Bell's behalf, the attorney for Bell's close rival Elisha Gray, submitted a near-identical specification.

It was, as Bell wrote to his parents, a remarkable coincidence. Whether the result of brilliant minds converging, industrial espionage or the machinations of the Western Union company – out to suppress the telephone for fear of the damage it could do its

Sounds out of Silence: A Life of Alexander Graham Bell
By James Mackay
Mainstream Publishing.
320 pages. £20

telegraph business – is never made clear. The US Patent Office finally granted his application on March 7, 1876, although lawsuits, which Bell won, continued to dog the early years of the telephone industry.

Bell was born in Scotland although he emigrated to the US and took American nationality, finally settling on land he bought on Cape Breton Island, Nova Sco-

tia. His father, Alexander Melville Bell, was a leading authority in elocution and speech correction and the inventor of a system called "Visible Speech" designed in teach speech to the deaf.

While Alexander Graham Bell's scientific interests spanned an enormous range – from the use of light beams to transmit sound to aeronautics – the family tradition in helping the deaf communicate remained a passion.

Bell invented a practical approach to recording sound, became president of the National Geographic Society and experimented with kites and hydrofoils. He established the Volta Laboratory, now an international information centre concerned with the

education of the deaf, with prize money awarded by France for his most significant invention.

Today, his enduring memorial is Bell Laboratories, probably the world's most distinguished technology centre, where patents are notched up on a daily basis.

Mackay is a historian and his biography of Bell is strong on facts – too many, in some cases. Individuals make tantalising but sometimes irrelevant appearances before vanishing from the narrative. A more serious weakness is in Mackay's account of Bell's research. The biographer of Robert Burns, William Wallace and Allan Pinkerton among others, he seems to be making his first attempt to deal with scientific and technical matters. There is not enough explanation of the underlying physics to make Bell's achievement clear to the non-scientist while the technically minded are unlikely to be satisfied with Mackay's account.

Bell's complex, volatile character in some ways bridged the gap between the amateur scientists of the 18th and 19th centuries and

Top 10 business titles

In the first of a regular feature we list the current best selling business books at WH Smith Heathrow airport

Title	Author	Publisher
HARDBACKS		
Pocket World in Figures 1997	N/A	Economist
Blood Money	Bower	Macmillan
Rethinking the Future	Various	N.Brealey
80/20 Principle	Koch	N.Brealey
Living Company	De Geus	N.Brealey
Overdrive	Wallace	Wiley
Beyond Re-engineering	Flemmer	Collins
Our Currency, Our Country	Redwood	Penguin
Asia's Wealth Club	Hancock	N.Brealey
Intellectual Capital	Stewart	N.Brealey
PAPERBACKS		
The Road Ahead	Gates	Penguin
Rogue Traders	Leeser	Warner
What's at Stake on Problem Solving	Allan	Mandarin
Learning into the Future	Binney	N.Brealey
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Art of War for Executives	Krause	N.Brealey
The Way of the Leader	Krause	N.Brealey
Death of Inflation	Boote	N.Brealey
New Leaders	Taffinder	Kogan Page
Clicking	Popcorn	Collins

today's professionals. Mackay lays to rest the notion that he originally envisaged the telephone as a means of disseminating musical performances. Bell, in unusually commercial mode, wrote to his wife: "When people can order everything they want from the stores without leaving home and chat comfortably with each other by telegraph over some bit of gossip, every person will desire to put money in our pockets by having telephones."

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ARTS

The Venice Biennale/William Packer

Pavilioned in splendour

Onside the main exhibition of the Venice Biennale, Germano Celant's *Future, Present, Past*, of which I wrote on Saturday, things improve. But the Biennale is never without some monsters, nor true to itself if some do not walk off with prizes.

True to form, the judges handed the *Premio Pucci* for the best national pavilion to what was commonly held to be the worst, the French, turned by Fabrice Hybert into a studio in which to film his own participation in the Biennale by, well, filming his own participation in the Biennale. In booths around the sides his crew is hard at work, "writing" and "editing" when not pointing cameras at the bemused visitor. The citation praised it for being "a new conception of the Pavilion less as a finished work than as a window giving onto the external, in which the world of art works."

There are indeed more interesting pavilions-as-installations, notably the Greek, in which Dimitri Aithinos has taken up

the floor to sink a row of pits far below, and the Japanese, where Rei Naito somewhat prettily has put up an oval canvas enclosure into which one peeps, as it were a visitor from space, upon a microcosmic world. I also liked the swarms of arrows that Ivan Kafka has hung so carefully in the Czech Pavilion; and the tank outside the Nordic Pavilion, full of mud from the lagoon which Mark Dion is excavating, displaying his miscellaneous finds on the edge as they appear.

But best are the pavilions showing art as art, and it is gratifying to see painting and sculpture more in evidence than usual. Although there has been no British painter under 50 shown at Venice since John Walker in 1972, and no sculptor over 50 since Henry Moore at 50 in 1948, I have to say that our British champion this time, immaculately displayed by the British Council, is impressive. Rachel Whiteread, she of the filled-in spaces beneath chairs and tables, of the room turned inside out, of the house removed to leave only the solid space within,

thoroughly deserves her *Premio 2000* for an artist under 40. Her display is a summary of her career, culminating in an entire room, the white ghost of a library lined with the negative mould of the shelves and books. The other outstanding sculptor is Al-Ghoul Ali Ahmed, who has filled the Egyptian Pavilion with monumental structures redolent of wells and gateways in the domestic tradition, yet with something of the hieratic presence of a more ancient Egypt.

As for the painting, best is the minimalism of the Swiss, Helmut Federle, whose methodical severity belies the richness of a surface which, almost secretly, works to subtle and curiously romantic imaginative effect. He, far more than the formulaic Gerhard Richter, deserved a *Premio Internazionale*.

At the other extreme is Maxim Kantor in the Russian Pavilion, with a defiantly old-fashioned flurry of energetic figurative expressionism, even though the

angst is somewhat overdone at times. With no pavilion of their own, the Chinese have taken the Ca' Corner della Regata on the Grand Canal, which also holds the Biennale Archive. Their artist, Chen Yifei (also showing at Marlborough Fine Art in London), works from photographic reference, but any close fidelity to his source is confounded by the sheer size of the work. The handling is vigorous and free, at times almost to the point of abstraction, with odd echoes of that undeservedly forgotten English star of early Biennales, Frank Brangwyn.

The Portuguese too are outside the gardens, showing their artist, Júlio Saramago, to the Palazzo Vendramin, his cryptic fragmentary images franghi with an ambiguous sexual and moral tension. Also on the Doroduro, to the cloisters behind the Gesuiti, is a mixed show, *Modernities and Memories*, that brings together recent work from the Islamic world, from Indonesia to Mali. Notable are the strange leather wraps, like fayed skins, of Inci Eviner from

Turkey, the paintings of Sylvat Arif from Pakistan, and the simple totemic wood-carvings, boats and boxes, of Antaspati from Indonesia.

The resolution of ethnic and cultural tradition with modernism is a contemporary problem faced by artists from Japan to Mexico. Back in the gardens, the Australian Pavilion shows three artists of Aboriginal origin achieving authentic personal solutions. The pure sculptural quality of Yvonne Koolumarie's rush-woven eel traps quite transcends ostensible function. Judy Watson's delicate traceries reimposes ancient signs and images upon a sophisticated abstract ground. And the late Emily Kngwarreye, with her stripes of rich, lush paint, dancing together with a natural energy and intuitive accord, leaves us the most immediately engaging paintings in the entire Biennale.

The 47th International Art Exhibition - *La Biennale di Venezia: Gli Giardini del Castello, il Corso della Tana and elsewhere in Venice*, until November 9.



Rachel Whiteread, deserving winner of the Premio 2000, with her 'ghost library', part of her display in the British Pavilion

The supreme virtue of *Amy's View*, David Hare's new work, is that it challenges Judi Dench to keep revealing different layers of herself, now comic, now tragic; and the supreme reason to watch *Amy's View* is to see how transportingly she does so. Alone of its six characters, she is present in all four acts, travelling in time from 1979 to 1995. She takes charge of the work's entire meaning and its world, from her first entrance on. And yet what she gives you is the play Hare meant to write. She is never once tripped by what he did write; in which - apart from her central contribution - it is never seriously possible to believe.

Dench plays Esme Allen, a star actress and widowed mother; her daughter is the Amy of the play's title. Esme is, by turns, both shallow and profound, selfish and generous, outspoken and hypocritical. Often Hare seems to have modelled her on Judith Blaize in Noel Coward's *Hay Fever*: possibly more theatrical offstage than on, and hilarious on the subject of colleagues and her own style.

Yet there is little humour or glamour left by Act Four. Now, in 1985, Esme's daughter has died and her own finances have been wrecked. Esme/Dench now lives only in her resurrected stage career. She seems to have been tempered by every ordeal, so that she can even converse with her exson-in-law, the late Amy's husband, a critic-cum-filmmaker whom she has never liked and who she believes did most to cause Amy's unhappiness and death. Then, in calm absorption, she goes onstage for her evening performance. We see her and her young co-star, in costume, prepare for curtain-rise by pouring water over each other's heads. Why, we never know; but the simple ritual is, at this stage of *Amy's View*, profoundly satisfying. The young actor anoints the old; the old actor baptises the young. The gesture of immersion speaks of commitment to both life and art. And, by this stage, you have travelled with Esme/Dench some large journey in your own soul.

Why is *Amy's View* so called? Amy's view, according to characters other than Amy herself, is that "love conquers all". However, neither Amy's mother (Esme) nor her husband Dominic



Judi Dench and Samantha Bond in David Hare's new play, 'Amy's View'

Opera/Andrew Clark

Costume drama meets comic-strip

Sunday's performance of *Die ägyptische Helena* (Helen in Egypt) at Garsington had a special significance - not just in Britain, but for admirers of Richard Strauss everywhere. It was the UK stage premiere of the least loved of the six operas Strauss wrote with Hugo von Hofmannsthal. It was also a bold re-imagining of a work which has always seemed too contrived to succeed on its own terms. Conducted by Elgar Howarth, designed and directed by David Fielding and sung by a well-balanced cast, the result went far beyond expectations. It may not win many new friends for Strauss, but it proves that *Die ägyptische Helena* is theatrically viable - something not even the last Munich production, which I saw in 1981, managed to do.

Hofmannsthal has taken most of the blame for the opera's neglect: his scenario for the first act repeats itself in the second without making anything clearer. But Strauss is equally culpable. Apart from some ethereal woodwind themes and bizarrely exotic brass perorations, *Helena* is Strauss on auto-pilot, with several ideas unashamedly recycled from *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. The plot is a fanciful exploration of how Helen was reconciled with Menelaus after her seduction by Paris. Hofmannsthal throws in an Egyptian sovereign, an Arab sheikh, a sea-shell which can see and recount everything, and a *Tristan*-esque brew of potions - except that in *Helena*, in place of death comes complete memory of the past, and the realisation by husband and wife that their love is indestructible.

This dramatical hotch-potch emerges as the perfect vehicle for Fielding's talents. Never one to take an opera at face value, he hints at all the different layers on which *Helena* works - mythological, matrimonial, psychological - while bathing them in an operetta-like irony entirely in keeping with Hofmannsthal's conception. The matrimonial confrontation

is the beauty of the staging that it treats the plot seriously enough to engage our attention, but lightly enough to stop it dissolving into the most awful kitsch. Fielding cannot hide the vacuousness at the heart of each act, but the principals match his visual inspiration all the way. Susan Bullock's Helen encourages us to take Strauss's embodiment of female beauty with a pinch of salt: what she lacks in sensuality, she makes up in raw conviction, persuading us that hard vocal glitter is what the role really needs. As Menelaus, John Horton Murray demonstrates how to write for tenor. Helen Fielding's Aithra looks and sounds possessed, while her nubile servants, Yvette Bonner and Helen Astrid, almost steal the show with their Egyptian hairstyles and catwalk costumes.

That all the voices come across so crisply is a tribute to Elgar Howarth's control of the orchestra. Some of the string detail is lost - perhaps the patter of the rain was to blame on Sunday - but there is never a hint of bombast; and Howarth convinces us that, notwithstanding Strauss's tendency to meander, the score unfolds in one big broad line from start to finish. On the strength of this, can we now have *Die Liebe der Danae*?

Theatre/Alastair Macaulay

Flawed play saved by its star

- though they both love Amy in their respective ways - have much truck with this view. Painful honesty or loving conciliation? This dilemma is the main tension of *Amy's View*, which is, at its best, a modern variation on Molière's *The Misanthrope*. Soon enough, Esme and Dominic at least agree to disagree, and Amy, between these poles, is torn. Only when she has been dead for some time, does Dominic try to bridge the gap between himself and Esme to try Amy's view.

It is a charming, funny, serious, interesting, empty mess - with flaws that playwrights with a tenth of Hare's experience would know to avoid. Some of its flaws are accidental; notably that

Amy herself does not practise what she preaches. Not once but twice she runs out of her mother's house, rejecting her. She isn't, in fact, much of a daughter: aged 23 in Act One, she admits she hasn't even realised that Esme's current play is still running in the West End. An equal problem is that neither we nor Esme are given a chance to find any of the merits Amy finds in her husband, Dominic. He is - says she - intellectual, funny, gentle. Oh yes? Hare provides zero evidence to support this. (That Dominic is even more crass than most bad critics is obvious - to us, if not to Hare.) And some of Hare's flaws are, alas, deliberate. He has a sub-Ibsenist tech-

nique of revealing to the audience, well into a scene, what has been known to everyone onstage before curtain-rise. By the time he tries this again in Act Four, clotheering us after several minutes with the surprise news that Amy has died, we feel unpleasantly manipulated.

As Dominic and Amy, Eoin McCarthy and Samantha Bond play the roles that Hare wrote:

which is not, alas, enough.

McCarthy is handsome and angry, Bond - as in every role she plays these days - is rational, sensitive, and pint-size. Joyce Redman is charming in the ageing diminuendo of Evelyn. The best performances are from Ronald Pickup as Esme's washed-out

old neighbour Frank and Christopher Staines as the young actor Toby.

Amy's View would work twice as well in a theatre smaller and narrower than the Lyttelton, and Eyre's production does nothing to ease this problem. Bob Crowley's main set is handsome but artificial. Only Dench and Staines are fully audible to those sitting on the peripheries of this wide auditorium. Amid its other virtues, Dench's performance is an object lesson in projection - and yet you are never aware that she is projecting at all.

In National Theatre repertory at the Lyttelton Theatre, South Bank, SE1.

blue-and-white porcelain pieces from public and private collections in Berlin. The porcelain was originally imported in the 17th century by the Dutch East India Company and was enthusiastically received by the European aristocracy; to Nov 2.

■ AMSTERDAM

EXHIBITION

Stedelijk Museum

Tel: 31-20-5732911

● Nan Goldin's 'I'll be your Mirror

- Photography 1972-1996:

display of uncompromising diary

pieces by the New York

photographer, showing the

underside of the city's glamour;

to Aug 17

■ ATHENS

EXHIBITION

Ergotostasio/School of Fine Arts

Tel: 30-1-4819868

● Joseph Beuys' exhibition

featuring a number of the German

artist's drawings and engravings;

to Jul 6

■ BERLIN

EXHIBITION

Museum für Ostasiatische

Kunst Tel: 49-30-5310382

● Das Welsche Gold des Fernen

Orients: exhibition featuring 50

Chinese and Japanese

contemporary

works

to Jul 6

■ EDINBURGH

EXHIBITION

Royal Scottish Academy

Tel: 44-131-225 6671

● Royal Scottish Academy's

171st Annual Exhibition: exhibition

featuring works by many of

Scotland's leading contemporary

artists

and

architects; to Jul 25

■ LONDON

CONCERT

Wigmore Hall

Tel: 44-171 935 2141

● Dame Gwyneth Jones:

performance by the soprano,

accompanied by the pianist

Dominic Hurlan. The programme

includes works by Wagner,

Sibelius, Duparc and Strauss;

Jun 28

JAZZ

to Jul 17

■ NEW YORK

EXHIBITION

Whitney Museum of American

Art Tel: 1-212-570-3600

● Keith Haring: major

retrospective of work by the late

American artist, who used early

1980s urban street culture as a

starting point for his bold graphic

style and attacks on a range of

social issues, including racism,

AIDS and the influence of the

mass media. The display explores

in some depth Haring's early

works as a street artist and

to Jul 14

■ STRASBOURG

CONCERT

Musée d'Orsay

Tel: 33-1-4549 1111

● Emile Verhaeren: exhibition

jointly organised by the Musée

d'Orsay and the Musée de la

Littérature de Bruxelles, examining

the life and times of art critic

Verhaeren. On display are a

number of paintings, sculptures,

drawings and engravings; to

Jul 14</div

COMMENT & ANALYSIS



Martin Wolf

The price of elephants

A resumption of controlled ivory exports can benefit conservation by giving the poor people who live alongside the herds an incentive to preserve them

Last week in Harare, commonsense broke out over animal conservation. Parties to the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) allowed Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe to resume controlled exports of ivory to Japan from 1999. This decision marked recognition that African elephants are not now endangered. It also showed awareness that they will remain safe only if their existence is of benefit to people they live among.

The ban on the trade in ivory in 1989 was the culmination of an emotional campaign. Its chief protagonists were Mr Richard Leakey, then director of the Kenya Wildlife Service, and a number of western animal welfare and environmental groups. To achieve their end, the advocates had to represent the African elephant as an endangered species, even though there were at least 600,000. Sharp declines in elephant numbers had occurred in eastern Africa, where management had been incompetent, but not in southern Africa. In Zimbabwe, for example, the population has increased from 30,000 to 70,000 over the past two decades.

Countries that managed their elephants relatively well saw the trade ban as an unjustifiable restriction. It reduced the benefits of conserving elephants at the behest of people who did not have to bear the costs. But these countries were outvoted, principally by nations without elephants.

Now, parties to Cites have voted in favour of letting the three southern African countries export small quotas from existing stocks: 25.3 tonnes from Botswana, 13.8 tonnes from Namibia and 20 tonnes from Zimbabwe. This is a small proportion of an African stock in excess of 500 tonnes.

Behind the heated debate on whether or not to lift the ban lie differences not just

over means, but also over ends. Western animal rights organisations wish not just to conserve elephants as a species, but to protect all elephants. Yet prosperous westerners are not threatened with starvation if an elephant should eat their food, or with death if an elephant should attack. As one expert has remarked, reality for the African peasant consists of the terror of being trampled by elephants, the hopelessness of watching a year's harvest destroyed and the helplessness of being unable to do anything about it.

Elephants killed at least 500 people in Zimbabwe between 1982 and 1988. The equivalent in France would have been 2,500 people; in the US 12,500. Each elephant eats about 330 pounds of food a day. A herd of elephants is like a swarm of six-ton locusts.

Since elephants both compete with people and threaten them, they will survive only if the value they create for those with the power to preserve or destroy them exceeds the costs they impose. This is not just the only workable approach to conservation, it is also the only one that



recognises the moral claim of desperately poor people to a better life.

For western environmentalists, trade restrictions are the answer. They have the advantage of being cheap. But, as Mr Ike Sugg and Mr Urs Kreuter note in a pamphlet for the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs, a ban on trade in elephant products can make elephants worthless, but cannot make them costless.

In the short run, however, the ban did reduce poaching in some African countries, notably Kenya, though not, it seems, in Botswana, Malawi, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The question is why it has had this beneficial impact and why there should be such a difference across countries.

Interestingly, as Mr Michael S. S. Rossiter argues*, a longer-standing ban on trade in rhino horn has been largely ineffective. The difference is that the ban on ivory was accompanied by a collapse in western demand, as ivory use turned people into social pariahs. But the demand for rhino horn comes largely from politically incorrect east Asia and the Yemen. The result of that has been soaring

black market prices and a thriving illegal trade.

In countries with poor conservation efforts, the decline in ivory prices induced by falling demand reduced poaching. In countries with historically better efforts, the effect was ambiguous. While the incentive to poach was lowered, the elimination of the legal trade reduced the resources available for conservation.

What can be said for the ban on trade in ivory, therefore, is that the campaign was the catalyst for a sharp reduction in western demand. As such, the ban may be viewed as having provided short-term relief. But it also decreased the resources available to preserve elephants in protected areas, themselves only some 5 per cent of Africa's land area and reduced the incentive to preserve elephants in unprotected ones.

Whatever the future development of trade in ivory, a longer-term solution is required to ensure the survival of elephants. There are two possibilities. One is central command and control. Resources available to government departments and the penalities on those who kill elephants would both be increased. Combined with the reduction in the market value of ivory consequent on the decline in demand abroad, this might work. Under this model, westerners who want to preserve elephants would be under a moral obligation to defray the costs imposed on desperately poor countries. The proceeds of the carefully controlled ivory trade now being permitted could also help finance the effort.

The second alternative is to work with the market. Communities among which elephants live would be given a direct stake in their survival. The problem has been that impoverished farmers have normally had every incentive to kill elephants and to mean higher spending on server software such as Oracle's database programs and applications.

Oracle is a server company," says Mr Ray Lane, Oracle president. "To the extent that the server becomes the central element of corporate computing systems, Oracle will benefit, he acknowledges.

Yet, until now, the battle has been largely confined to rhetoric. Microsoft and Oracle have coexisted in the software market with both companies benefiting hugely from the explosive growth of computer networks.

Now, however, Oracle will use the introduction of Oracle 8, a new version of its database management software, to launch a direct assault on Microsoft. The product, Oracle executives claim, is the foundation for a new approach to building corporate information technology systems.

A network war turns nasty

Louise Kehoe on the clash between Microsoft and Oracle

Microsoft and Oracle are on a collision course. Today, when Oracle unveils a new version of its database management software as the centrepiece of a new model for corporate computing, the world's two biggest software companies will clash head-on.

The confrontation has been building for months as Microsoft, the undisputed leader in desktop computer software, took aim at Oracle's territory with its own database software and other "back office" applications.

For its part, Oracle has been promoting the Network Computer (NC), a low-cost desktop machine that relies for software and data upon a central server. Unlike almost all personal computers, the NC does not run Microsoft programs.

Mr Bill Gates of Microsoft and Mr Larry Ellison of Oracle, the rival multi-billionaires, have traded blows. Mr Gates has dismissed the NC as "retrograde technology".

"NC," he says, stands for "not compatible" with the huge base of software developed for the PC.

Mr Ellison has ridiculed the complexity of Microsoft's PC applications and accused the company of attempting to maintain a "monopoly" without regard for the needs of computer users.

Yet, until now, the battle has been largely confined to rhetoric. Microsoft and Oracle have coexisted in the software market with both companies benefiting hugely from the explosive growth of computer networks.

Now, however, Oracle will use the introduction of Oracle 8, a new version of its database management software, to launch a direct assault on Microsoft. The product, Oracle executives claim, is the foundation for a new approach to building corporate information technology systems.

The database management system are "scalability and availability", adds Mr Lane. The program, he says, delivers the reliability of a traditional mainframe database on modern computers running the Unix or Microsoft NT operating systems.

Whether Oracle customers - who include many of the world's top banks, retailers and manufacturers - will also adopt the "network computing" approach remains to be seen. Oracle's economic arguments sound persuasive, but veteran information technology managers have heard such promises before.

The high cost of supporting thousands of PC users undermined the savings which businesses expected to achieve when they shifted from mainframe computing to distributed client-server networks in the 1980s. Could there be hidden expenses in network computing? "We will not know for a year," Mr Lane says.

In many ways, the clash between Oracle and Microsoft was inevitable. Already, Oracle has left its traditional database software competitors in the dust, achieving a more than 50 per cent world market share.

Informix and Sybase, two database software rivals, are struggling to regain momentum as they deal with product transition and other problems. IBM still has a strong presence in the market for mainframe database software but has not kept pace with Oracle's growth. This has left Microsoft as its only strong challenger.

Given the hubris of the world's richest men, this has the makings of a battle that could engulf the entire information technology industry. Backing the winner will be a challenge for computer and software companies worldwide - as well as for their customers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We are keen to exchange views on subjects of interest to our readers. Please send your letters to Letters to the Editor, Financial Times, 20 Bank Street, London E14 5AA. We reserve the right to edit them.

Services gain little by technology

From Professor Leon Shilton

Sir, Gerard Baker asks the question of why technology has not boosted overall productivity in the US ("Anatomy of a miracle", June 20). The answer is that a computer chip and a fancy software package do little in the people-intensive businesses of giving medicine, serving a hamburger or praising the Lord. Obviously, in the manufacturing sector computerisation and new equipment have increased productivity. The number of workers in the hard manufacturing industries (standard industrial classification groups 20 to 39) today is the same as it was in 1975 - 18.5m. But these workers are now producing twice as much product, \$2,300bn (inflation adjusted).

Over the past 20 years, however, the biggest gain in

US employment was in medically related services and nursing care services: 7m workers. (How does one measure the value added of extending a life five years?)

Other large gainers were the restaurant business 4m, grocery stores 1.2m, state and local governments 1m, and religious organisations 850,000. The highly touted growth industry of computing services added only 800,000 workers over this time, while the number of people who make the hardware declined by 110,000.

While managers gloat that they have downsized, getting rid of all those fringes benefits, they forget to mention the increase in consulting services and temporary help.

In 1976 the temporary worker was a nonentity; today there are 2m of them - the fourth largest employ-

ment growth sector in the US.

The article was just another in a series that questions the impact of technology on productivity. Another perspective on the impact of technology on the service industries is that the simple add and subtract inability of the spreadsheet and the spell-checking bird-dogging of the word processor prevented a very serious decline in business literacy and competency. So the test is not how much did technology add to productivity in the service industries but how much of a decline did it prevent as the American educational process withered.

Leon Shilton,
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Options to privatise left open by Jospin

From Ms Marie Owens Thomsen

Sir, It is possible that I have become "too French" working for Dresdner Kleinwort Benson in Paris, and that this has rendered me sensitive to what might be perceived as "Anglo-Saxon propaganda". But I do find it shocking that your Paris office reports that "Mr Jospin said the new administration would not implement the previous centre-right government's plans to privatise France Telecom, the Thomson-CSF defence electronics company and the Aerospatiale aviation and defence group" ("France will join Euro on time, says Jospin", June 20).

Mr Jospin said nothing of the sort. While declaring that the new government is in principle opposed to privatisations and ruling out any privatisation of public services he left his options open regarding state companies exposed to international competition. Hence, if any opening up of French state companies' capital will take place under the new government it is precisely the companies mentioned in your article that would be concerned.

To be sure the new government is not likely to raise as much money from privatisations as the previous government had budgeted. This is therefore the issue that remains the most threatening to the French deficit: to gross domestic product ratio in the wake of a policy declaration that was otherwise of little consequence to the 1997 budget. But the real risk is not nearly as great to the deficit or to the stock market as your article would suggest.

Marie Owens Thomsen,
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Investment should be the real concern

From Mr Bernard Kilroy

Sir, The "black hole" in UK government finance following the National Audit Office adjustments is a distraction ("Chancellor lifts expectations of higher taxation", June 20). The real concern should be that the chancellor has left the crude concept of the public sector borrowing requirement in place. No distinction is being made between capital investment and current spending, to the detriment of the UK's infrastructure and job creation.

Why? Labour's manifesto commitment to confine its borrowing to capital investment surely implies a different approach. So does a posi-

tive European policy. Under the Maastricht convergence criteria, the GFCF (general government financial deficit) replaces PSBR. Far from producing a deficit, that would allow capital investment spending to be maintained, and indeed increased. Ironically, the Conservatives' 1996 Budget Red Book was explicit about restoring capital spending to pre-1979 levels by means of the private finance initiative and partnership funding. Somehow, the perspective seems to have been lost.

The longer the new Labour government leaves any change, the more it will be accused of cooking the books. Much of the ground

work was done in the 1970s when some of us persuaded the House of Commons environment committee to propose a new format for the then largest capital programme, housing. Meanwhile, both the Treasury and the Bank of England had carried out valuable studies which focused on the economic evaluation of spending programmes rather than the more headline grabbing financial preoccupations.

So, what has happened now? New Labour, old budgeting?

Bernard Kilroy,
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Harley Wharf,
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Child labour issues denied a forum

From Mr Denis MacShane MP

Sir, Those supporting the view that child labour and related social issues should not be discussed at the World Trade Organisation have always argued that the International Labour Organisation is the appropriate forum for such

matters. However, we now read ("ILO chief comes under fire", June 12) that Asian, Latin American and African states have rejected the limited proposals from the ILO to monitor social progress around the world.

If the growth in child labour, poverty wages and environmental hazards must



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Tuesday June 24 1997

Revisiting the Rio pact

The second UN Earth Summit, taking place in New York this week, was never going to be a happy event. The conference was intended to assess the progress made since the first such conference in 1992 in Rio. In truth, little has been achieved in the intervening five years.

None of the commitments made at Rio – the grand Agenda 21 – has been kept. Five years ago the world's leaders agreed to cut carbon dioxide emissions to the 1990 level by the year 2000. Today they are higher than ever. Pledges to protect the world's forests and oceans have not been honoured, nor commitments to manage water resources and bio-diversity. The rich countries agreed to increase aid for sustainable development to 0.7 per cent of GDP in 1992; instead, total aid has fallen.

The mood of the conference is not improved by the failure at the Denver summit to agree to a target to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. The European representatives wanted the US and Japan to agree to the European Union target of cutting carbon dioxide emissions to 15 per cent below the 1990 level by 2010. The US and Japan refused.

The debate over emissions in the richest countries misses the most important issue. The pace of growth in developing countries – in particular in China and India – means that agree-

ments to restrict energy use in the G7 club are largely of symbolic importance. Even if the industrialised countries were to cap their own energy use at current levels, they could not limit the use of energy in developing countries.

This is not a problem for the distant future. By 2005 China is set to overtake the US as the world's biggest producer of greenhouse gases. The prospect of a fridge in every home in China, and an air-conditioner in every home in India, makes the disagreement between the EU and the US over the timing of targets for their own energy reductions little more than a sideshow.

Any solution must agree on some allocation of the costs of reducing greenhouse gases, in practice the burden of such a scheme must fall largely on the north. The richer countries are unlikely to agree to that. But much can still be achieved. A commitment to end energy subsidies would be a start. So would help to promote more efficient energy use in the developing world. The developed countries should redouble efforts to promote clean technology, in power generation and use.

This is a less ambitious agenda than that set in Rio, or under discussion this week. But it may be the best that can be hoped for.

Kashmir hope

The agreement by India and Pakistan on an agenda and a structure for peace talks, including their bitter dispute over Kashmir, is greatly to be welcomed. It is an appropriate sign of reconciliation only weeks before the 50th anniversary of their independence, and the bloody partition which accompanied it. But it is only a first step towards a solution to their long-running conflict. Both sides still have to make significant concessions for any hope of a lasting peace.

The advantages of a reduction in tension in the region are beyond question. It would allow both countries to rein back on defence spending, which is running at a level neither can afford. The economic pressure is most obvious in Pakistan, where the government is all but bankrupt. But the Indian military is also sorely stretched on its north-west frontier, forced to operate with too many men and inadequate equipment.

More important still, an agreement would enable the two sides to revive normal trade relations, to their great mutual advantage. That would give Pakistan access to cheap raw materials, and India a new market for its manufacturing industry. In the long run, it would open up new trade routes and oil and gas pipelines to the future energy fields of central Asia. And it would allow freer

movement of people across their border, re-uniting families divided by partition.

The progress that has been made so far owes much to the better atmosphere promoted by the two prime ministers, Mr LK Gujral of India and Mr Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan. They can understand each other, as both were forced to emigrate in opposite directions around the time of independence. But they must now give substance to the structure they have set up.

That is certainly easier said than done. Neither side is yet ready to make concessions acceptable to the other, neither on Kashmir nor on the deployment of ballistic missiles nor on their other border disputes. Both face strong political pressures not to give ground – in Pakistan from the Islamic opposition, and in India from the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata party. Mr Sharif is hostage to a collapsed economy, and Mr Gujral to a highly complex coalition government.

They should proceed by setting modest objectives for their negotiations, to get the process in motion. Confidence-building measures should be found in trade relations and border controls, to gain momentum. The security questions, and above all the status of Kashmir, will be the toughest to resolve. But at least they are moving in the right direction.

The UK Budget

Mr Gordon Brown's first Budget, to be delivered on July 2, will reveal much about how Labour intends to manage the economy. It was billed as a simple performance, aimed at putting into effect Labour's windfall tax on the privatised utilities and the welfare-to-work programme what it is to finance. But what Mr Brown says will suggest answers to four bigger questions.

First, the actions of the chancellor of the exchequer will cast light on his longer-term attitude towards fiscal reform. He has already commissioned Mr Martin Taylor, chief executive of Barclays, to investigate the relationship between benefits and taxes. But he should set out his wider agenda for reform. More important, he needs to avoid making changes that would compromise reform later on.

Second, the accompanying Budget documents will reveal Labour's plans for public spending. The Conservative government's intention was to take general government spending (excluding privatisation proceeds) down from 40 per cent of gross domestic product this year to 36 per cent by 2001-02, the lowest ratio since 1965-66. The public sector borrowing requirement is also forecast to be a surplus of 2 per cent of GDP by then. If Labour does not push the spending ratio down, the PSBR would show a deficit of over 1 per cent of GDP in 2001-02, a level it has claimed is

too high. Mr Brown can avoid raising taxes only by tight control of spending or abandoning his PSBR objectives.

Third, the budget will indicate how far Mr Brown is constrained by promises on personal taxation made during the election campaign. If the government is not even prepared to eliminate mortgage interest relief, as is now believed, the chancellor will have to focus almost all his attention, both now and in future, on the taxation of companies. The questions he will then have to answer is how he can load more taxes on companies without adversely affecting investment and how he can attack the tax benefits of saving without undermining people's ability to make long-term plans.

Finally, the budget is the chancellor's opportunity to indicate how far he still takes responsibility for macroeconomic management, even after the decision to give the Bank of England operational independence. The case for significant fiscal tightening for both structural and cyclical reasons is strong. If Mr Brown still does nothing, he will, by default, be passing more of the burden of macroeconomic management on to the Bank.

No budget is trivial, least of all the first from a party elected after so long in opposition. Mr Brown's first Budget will set the stage on which this government will play for years to come.

COMMENT & ANALYSIS



Giant waiting in the wings

Bernard Gray and Michael Skapinker ask if Europe's aerospace industry can consolidate in time to challenge US dominance

There was a pregnant air about the Paris Air Show last week. The world's aerospace executives waited anxiously through long sticky days at Le Bourget to hear what Mr Lionel Jospin, the new French prime minister, would say about his plans for France's defence and aerospace industry.

Mr Jospin was the centre of attention because France is seen by many as the key to unlocking rationalisation of the European industry. The speculation in the company chalets centred on whether Mr Jospin would turn the lock by approving the privatisation of the industry, or leave the door bolted by keeping French companies in state hands.

The choice facing Mr Jospin has profound implications for the whole of the European industry. France's large industrial partners in the Airbus consortium, Daimler-Benz Aerospace (Dasa) and British Aerospace, have made no secret of their desire to see the French industry privatised and integrated into the rest of the European sector. Mr Serge Dassault, the chairman of France's private-sector military aircraft maker Dassault, has similarly firm views.

Yet in their pre-election rhetoric, Mr Jospin and his new government were strongly opposed to privatisation. In the particular case of the aerospace industry, that put Mr Jospin in something of a bind. If he follows his instincts he risks alienating the rest of the European industry, but if he bows to the views of the industry outside France, he may face a domestic backlash.

In the event, Mr Jospin, who spoke at the show on Saturday, avoided the privatisation issue altogether – a sign of how ticklish the problem is for the government. This followed his address to the National Assembly last week in which he had said he would not implement the previous conservative government's pledge to privatise Aerospatiale – although he accepted that some "adaptations" might be necessary

to enable the group to co-operate with its European partners.

While prevarication may buy a little time, the basic dilemma for France will not go away: either it moves forward with privatisation and rationalisation or, as his European partners were hinting darkly last week, the rest of the industry will come under increasing commercial pressure to move ahead without the French.

Ironically, the defining moment for the show occurred a little earlier in the week, when BAe signed an agreement with Lockheed Martin to work together on the \$100bn (\$80bn) US Joint Strike Fighter programme. As well as being a substantial project, this revealed the outline of a potential transatlantic alliance that could emerge to rival Boeing in the global aerospace industry.

Assuming that the merger of Boeing and McDonnell Douglas receives regulatory approval during the summer, the merged company will have a pre-eminent position in the world defence and civil aerospace market. Boeing's turnover will be about \$45bn, roughly twice that of its nearest rival Lockheed, which is heavily involved in military equipment.

The emergence of the Boeing leviathan is increasing pressure for consolidation of the fractured European industry, and is one reason why privately owned BAe and Dasa are keen to push ahead with the rationalisation of the European industry.

Both Mr John Weston, joint managing director of BAe, and Mr Manfred Bischoff, chief executive of Dasa, are keen to see Europe respond to the Boeing challenge by forming a single transnational aerospace group, covering civil aircraft, defence, missiles and space.

Once that European aerospace company had been formed, it would naturally start to look across the Atlantic for potential allies. But choices are limited. Boeing is Airbus's deadly rival and can effectively be counted out. Raytheon, the defence electronics group, is not in the military jet or airliner business, and

Airbus Grumman has become a niche defence specialist.

That leaves Lockheed, which lacks a civil aerospace business, as the only large potential US partner. This fact must have been on the mind of Sir Richard Evans, BAe's chief executive, when he selected Lockheed as partner for the Joint Strike Fighter. Lockheed is also concerned at the scale of Boeing's operations, and is likely to be looking to deepen its international links as a response to growing commercial pressure to move ahead without the French.

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If Airbus is to compete against a merged Boeing-McDonnell Douglas, its executives recognise that they will have to drive down costs, shorten the time it takes to bring its aircraft to market and be in a position to respond to airline needs more quickly. The four companies which own Airbus – Dasa, Aerospatiale, BAe and CASA – agreed this year that these changes could only be achieved through a change in the consortium's legal structure.

The four partners signed a memorandum of understanding in January, agreeing to convert Airbus from a loose confederation into a limited company. Yet while the partners have agreed to change their structure, they disagree on how to do it. BAe, which owns 20 per cent of Airbus, and Dasa, which has 37.9 per cent, have lined up on one side of the argument: Aerospatiale, with 37.9 per cent, and CASA, which has 4.2 per cent, are on the other.

The dispute is over who should own the partners' Airbus factories. BAe and Dasa believe the new Airbus company should own them. Aerospatiale and CASA want the partners to retain them. The four are edging towards a compromise: the partners will continue to own the factories but the new Airbus will manage them. BAe and Dasa say they will only accept this as an interim solution: eventually Airbus must take over ownership too. Mr Bischoff says that, even during the interim stage, employees in the factories must have no doubt that their bosses will be the Airbus management in Toulouse, not the partner company executives.

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Aerospatiale has spoken hopefully of a matrix management structure, under which factory workers will report both to Airbus and to their own national companies. Mr Bischoff says he will have nothing to do with such a compromise. Underlying the factory owners'

ship dispute, the partners recognise that there is a deeper difference, which goes to the heart of Mr Jospin's problem: BAe and Dasa are privately owned companies, while Aerospatiale and CASA are state-owned.

As long as that distinction exists, the two sides both accept that they will see the world differently. BAe and Dasa focus on how to cut costs; Aerospatiale and CASA concentrate on how to preserve national assets – in this case, high-technology aircraft factories.

The other Airbus partners are unlikely to make much more progress with a state-owned Aerospatiale. Failure to privatise Aerospatiale will also hold up consolidation of the French industry. The previous government had pushed for Aerospatiale to merge with Dassault Aviation, but Mr Dassault said last week that he would not merge with a state-controlled company.

Until the French government can bring itself to renege on its pledge not to privatise Aerospatiale, further reform of Airbus is likely to proceed slowly. This is bound to slow and alter the course of the consolidation of the wider European aerospace and defence industry which depends on it.

What worries the private sector companies is that continued delay will simply add to the US's advantages in the international marketplace. BAe and Dasa executives are beginning to worry how much of the market will be left to the Europeans by the time they sort out their business.

For Mr Jospin, the choice is painfully clear. Either he stays with a state-owned French aerospace sector which risks becoming increasingly isolated, or he goes with the British and Germans on the road to a private-sector international group. The latter would not be controlled by any one country and might eventually evolve into a global aerospace giant. It is a choice that the market and his partners, driven by shareholder concerns, will not allow him to delay for long.

OBSERVER

Amsterdam indigestion

Jacques Delors has touched a raw nerve in Brussels with his weekend outburst that the European Union's Amsterdam summit was a "flop" and a "disaster". Many Eurocrats would agree, but the official line remains that there's more to the new treaty of Amsterdam than meets the eye: that's certainly the message being peddled by Jacques Santer, Delors' successor as president of the European Commission.

Santer was incandescent throughout the two-day horse-trading session in Amsterdam. When the meeting broke up in acrimony in the early hours of Wednesday morning, Santer proclaimed that

Europe had moved into a new phase. At this weekend's G8 summit in Denver, Santer assured his American audience that the EU had been propelled towards enlargement in central and eastern Europe.

All this Euro-optimism was too much for Delors to stomach. In a radio interview he declared that he'd been shocked by German "arrogance" in

Amensterdam and accused the Bonn government of having an "allergy" toward Italy and Spain, which are desperate to join economic and monetary union.

leaving to do his own thing with investment companies Westnex and, in the UK, Charterhall.

But the going's tough since Westnex collapsed in 1990: Goward was declared bankrupt the following year and already faces charges of concealing assets from his creditors and two counts of perjury.

The latest chapter in Goward's story started back in March when he disappeared from his Sydney home, apparently after an argument with his wife. Let's hope she likes the long hair and beard he's now sporting, a far cry from the clean-cut image of 10 years ago.

Rubber sole

Mrs More Kickin' and Screamin' from former Philippine first lady Imelda Marcos over her \$85m tax bill. Yesterday, Imelda delivered a personal petition to the Supreme Court in Manila: she's described as "whimsical and dictatorial" a lower court decision to uphold the bill and give 11 plots of family land in partial payment.

All our personal belongings have been taken from us. What is there to tax? she sniffily told reporters. But sympathisers for the grande dame of Manila society are thin on the ground. It's only four years since Imelda was convicted of corruption and sentenced to 18 years in jail –

though that didn't stop her going on to become a congresswoman in the House of Representatives.

Many doubt her poverty, too, despite her recent claim to be the poorest member of the house with a negative net worth of \$11m. The government reckons the Marcos family plundered about \$55m from the economy during two decades in office.

Single digit

It's always good to see adversaries bury the hatchet, especially when the two sides have spent the best part of a year engaged in mutual bad-mouthing and expensive litigation. But there's something eerily familiar about yesterday's agreement between Kirch and Bertelsmann to develop digital pay-TV in Germany.

The companies say they will pool their talents in marketing, programme rights and so on, while on the technical side, Deutsche Telekom will look after all the bits and bytes. In other words, it looks remarkably similar to the two previous attempts to get digital pay-TV off the ground. The first was blocked by Brussels on competition grounds, the second by the German government on the basis that it would violate European Union rules.

Kirch's ambitions are being completed for the Mexican Government to purchase from Mexican producer

100 years ago

Competition in Trade. Throughout the United Kingdom and in the United States there is a great deal of competition in goods made on the Continent of Europe. Our Consuls are incessantly drawing attention to this fact, and throwing out hints as to how such competition may best be met. There are

complaints as to the price of British goods, the inhabitants of some countries having a strong predilection for the cheap and nasty. Then there is the constantly recurring complaint about the scarcity of British commercial travellers as compared with other nationalities. There is another complaint that the British commercial travellers who do go round do not make themselves conversant with the manners, language and requirements of the people with whom they have to do business.

50 years ago

Mexican Silver for Cologne. New York, 23rd June. It is understood that the Mexican Government is planning to purchase silver for coinage purposes. Reports received in the U.S. silver trade from Mexico City state that arrangements are being completed for the Mexican Government to purchase from Mexican producer

Tuesday June 24 1997

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Alphatec chief faces pressure to resign

Debt problems mount for chipmaker

By Ted Bardacke in Bangkok

Creditors of Alphatec Electronics, the troubled Thai computer chip maker, are expected to demand the resignation of Mr Charn Uswachoke as chief executive before they agree to give the company time to restructure its overdue debt.

The resignation could come today after Alphatec, which accounts for nearly 1 per cent of Thailand's total exports, missed a \$45m payment due yesterday on a euro-currency bond issue. Last month Alphatec missed repaying \$3m to an international syndicate led by ING Bank.

The company has faced a liquidity squeeze since early May when Texas Instruments pulled out of projects with its parent, Alphatec Group, worth \$1.4bn to establish electronics plants in Thailand.

So far creditors have decided not to call a default, which would trigger cross-default

provisions on \$450m in total debt.

Mr Charn was recently accused by the Thai cabinet, which is considering taking an equity stake in the company, of "unprudent management on finance". Mr Leslie Merszel, the newly appointed chief financial officer of Alphatec Group and the man leading the debt restructuring negotiations, is being asked to remain in his post, as senior executives on the operations side of the business.

Bankers Trust, which is representing holders of the euro-bonds, must be convinced within 15 days that the company is "acting in good faith" to restructure its finances. It can then forestall an automatic default by calling a bondholders' meeting within 60 days to hear details of Alphatec's restructuring plan.

Alphatec Electronics is in a strong negotiating position with its creditors due to Thailand's antiquated bankruptcy

"We have various realistic restructuring scenarios whereby investors can get all their money back in due course," said Mr Merszel. "If creditors want to call a default and take legal action they are simply going to make all the lawyers very rich and it won't help them get their money back."

But bankers say they cannot wait too long. Creditors worry that the company's customers will seek their computer chips elsewhere. There are also worries that an individual bank within the ING syndicate will call a default on its own.

The departure of Mr Charn would make it more politically palatable for the government to take a stake in the company and would pave the way for a new private sector partner.

Mr Merszel said an injection of fresh equity from either the government or private sector is essential for the restructuring plan to succeed.

UN hears third world warning over green targets

By Michael Littlejohns and Bruce Clark at the United Nations, New York

The failure of industrialised countries to meet their commitment to help developing nations improve the global environment is threatening to block agreement on new United Nations environmental targets.

A special UN session in New York began yesterday with the aim of adopting a political declaration on Friday renewing countries' commitments to goals set at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit five years ago.

But there were fears yesterday that many developing countries would not sign the declaration without firm assurances of stronger financial aid.

Mr Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, told the special session: "The international community seems to remember the existence of Africa only when disaster strikes the continent." If financial resources were forthcoming, Africa would refrain from killing wild animals for food, cutting down trees for energy and polluting water resources because of lack of technology.

Among key issues that ministers and toy officials from 185 nations will try to resolve at this week's review of the Earth Summit is the disagreement over plans to reduce "greenhouse gas" emissions by 7.5 per cent by 2005 and 15 per cent by 2010.

Addressing yesterday's session, Mr Tony Blair, the UK prime minister, said Britain was ready to aim for a 20 per cent cut in the 1990 level of emissions by 2010. But at the Denver summit over the weekend, he and other European leaders failed to persuade US leaders to agree to a 15 per cent target.

In a clear reference to the US, Mr Blair told the UN: "The biggest responsibility falls on the countries with the biggest emissions."

Welcoming delegates on behalf of the host country, Mr Al Gore, the US vice-president, said a conference on global warming in Kyoto, Japan, in December would be a "critical opportunity" to forge binding limits on gas emissions but with "flexibility in meeting these targets". Flexibility could include the right to defer meeting targets, or the adoption of a system of emission "quotas" - suggested by the US - which could be traded between companies and countries.

To encourage delegates on

THE LEX COLUMN

Computer compact

At first sight, Compaq Computer's decision to snap up Tandem Computers looks odd. Compaq is a world leader in personal computers, while Tandem's very different strength is in big fault-tolerant systems which handle, for instance, 80 per cent of the world's automatic teller machine transactions. So why combine them? Well, the companies do have something in common: big business customers. And from this perspective the deal has a certain logic. It equips Compaq with a far larger sales force. And in theory at least, Compaq gains the opportunity to sell a much broader range of products to the two companies' customers.

That is just as well - Compaq shareholders are paying a thumping price. Allowing for the slight drop in Compaq's stock price yesterday, the premium for Tandem stockholders of Compaq's all-stock offer works out at nearly 50 per cent. The idea of selling a wider product line-up through an expanded sales network may look terrific on an investment banker's drawing-board but could prove tricky in practice. Not only are the products different, but so are the skills required to sell them. There is an obvious danger that in its rush to become "one of the three global computer companies" Compaq is taking a rather breezy attitude to the risks.

German TV

After a year of wrangling and litigation, Bertelsmann and Kirch, Germany's two leading media empires, are friends again: yesterday they teamed up to develop digital pay-television in Germany. The agreement is a victory for Bertelsmann. The chosen vehicle is Premiere, a subscription channel in which both groups have a stake but Bertelsmann's CLT-Ufa arm holds management control. Kirch's wholly-owned, loss-making DF1 digital channel looks like being sidelined. And while Premiere will use Kirch's "d-box" decoder, Kirch will not control the technology - in contrast with Mr Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which has hung on to the clever bits of BSkyB's decoders in the UK.

For Kirch this amounts to a humiliating climb-down. Mr Leo Kirch, his founder, has been adamant that the group had the resources to go it alone in digital pay-TV. But if recent revelations about Kirch's financial position are only half right, it is not surprising that a break-up value of close to £1bn excluding debt, so it does not lack size. But it has failed to do the big strategic deals it gave it greater clout in its UK life insurance and insurance businesses, and has been slow to integrate them. Freeing up BATF would focus executive minds and make it easier to attract staff and raise paper for deals.

The question is therefore whether it should be demerged immediately, or after BAT has had one last attempt at a financial services deal. Prices are getting too high for hostile bids. But a merger bringing management strength to BAT's poorly-performing insurance business, along with critical mass and cost savings, must be attractive. Commercial Union or General Accident would fit the bill. This would also prevent someone snapping up BATF on the cheap. But if a merger cannot be done, it is no excuse for procrastinating within the current corporate structure.

NatWest

The latest National Westminster Bank speculation - that Barclays is mulling a bid - may be wide of the mark. Monopoly considerations would almost certainly rule it out. But NatWest is definitely in play and the profits from acquiring it are potentially mouth-watering.

A chunky source of profit would be cost savings. Their size would depend on the extent of the overlap between the bidder's network and NatWest's. Analysts think Barclays, with a near carbon copy network, could strip out £1bn a year after tax. The cost savings from a more monopoly-friendly bidder like Abbey National would not be as large, but could still amount to £200m-400m a year. Capitalised at a multiple of 10, that amounts to £2bn-4bn of value.

Another source of profit is NatWest's break-up potential. Lombard, Ulster Bank and Coutts are probably worth £2bn - maybe more if sold to trade buyers. Parts of NatWest Markets, the troubled investment bank, could also be sold; the fund management business might fetch £1bn; the UK equity business and Greenwich bond trading operations might be worth another £1bn. NatWest Markets' treasury operations could be reunited with the core UK retail bank while its other operations, at worst, could be closed down allowing some £200m of capital to be extracted. The break-up value is perhaps £2bn more than NatWest's current market capitalisation.

Moreover, so low is NatWest's credibility that a bidder might keep the lion's share of the profits. It might even be able to get away with a no-premium all-share takeover. NatWest management would not be well-placed to resist.

Additional Lex note on W H Smith.
Page 26

German digital pay-TV rivals announce joint deal

By Frederick Studemann in Munich

The battle to control digital pay-television in Germany appeared close to a truce yesterday as KirchGroup and rival media company, CLT-Ufa, announced a compromise deal.

The two companies, which have spent more than a year fighting, said they had agreed to work together to develop digital pay-TV around Premiere, a subscription channel in which both are shareholders but where CLT-Ufa has management control.

The deal, which is subject to regulators approval, is a welcome respite for Kirch, which has been the subject of intense speculation over its financial health. Last year, the privately-held company spent heavily on a series of deals with Hollywood studios for the pay-TV rights to films and other pro-

grammes. These deals scuppered plans by CLT-Ufa, which is half-owned by the Bertelsmann media group, to launch a digital pay-TV network.

But they failed to give DF1 the loss-making digital pay-TV network launched last year by Kirch, the intended boost. DF1 has only 30,000 subscribers, a fraction of the number forecast in its business plan.

The development of DF1 was also hampered by the refusal of Deutsche Telekom, which owns most of Germany's cable network, to allow it to be carried on cable.

The companies have also agreed on Kirch's "d-hor" decoder as the uniform technology for the unscrambling of digitally-transmitted signals.

Kirch holds a 25 per cent stake in Premiere, while CLT-Ufa, has a 37.5 per cent share. The remaining 37.5 per cent is held by Canal Plus of France.

See Lex

China wins HK concession

Continued from Page 1

have come from the top level in Beijing.

The accord came under fire from pro-democracy politicians in the territory. "It is very provocative of China to demand such officials at the handover," said Ms Emily Lau, an independent legislator.

China announced this month

that its delegation would be headed by President Jiang Zemin and Mr Li Peng, the prime minister. The decision to demand early entry for further troops is understood to

unreasonable.

Tougher emissions will hit costs, Page 2;
Progress in arms talks, Page 10
Editorial comment, Page 19

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June 1997

Kashmir

Continued from Page 1

they have squared the circle. Neither side is really in a position to offer what is acceptable to the other."

Western diplomats said the deal agreement represented a step forward.

"The agreement is only the beginning of something important. Much will depend on domestic pressures too," said one diplomat.

They have come from the top level in Beijing.

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Tougher emissions will hit costs, Page 2;
Progress in arms talks, Page 10
Editorial comment, Page 19

Europe today

Showers are expected in the Benelux and Germany. Northern Germany and Denmark will be cloudy with rain. France will have a mixture of sun and cloud but the east will see some showers. The Mediterranean coast will be mainly sunny. Sunshine will mix with cloud over northern Spain. Southern Portugal will be sunny. The Alps will have rain and thunder showers. Northern Italy may have thunder showers but the south will be sunny. The eastern Balkans will be rainy but Greece will be sunny.

Five-day forecast

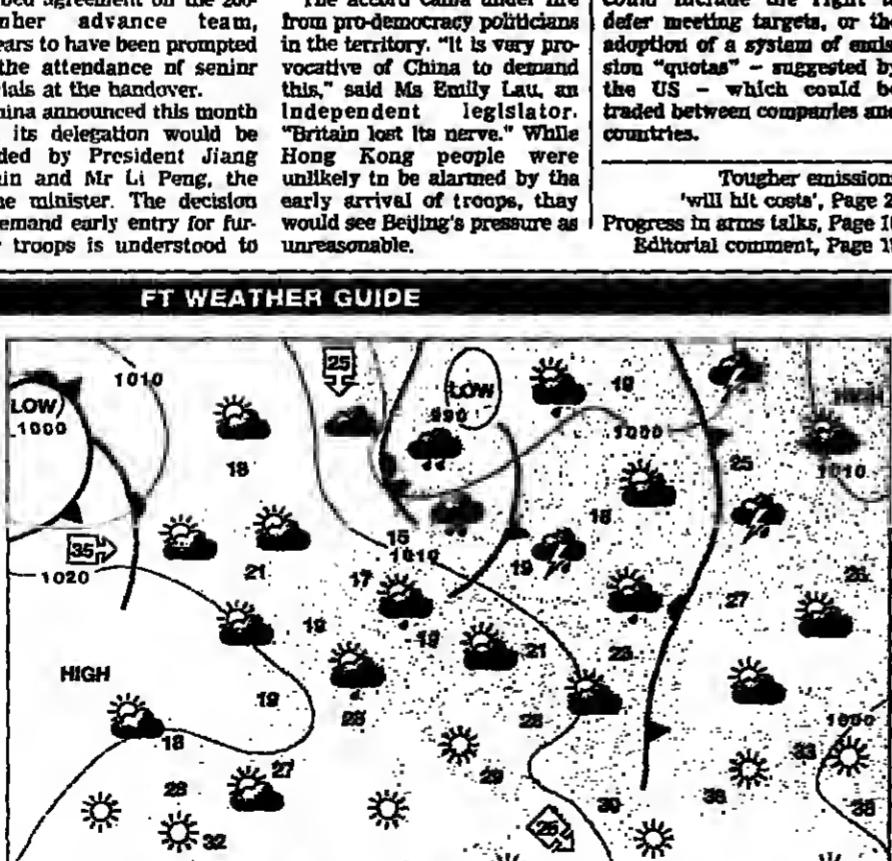
Rain, showers and wind are expected for north-western Europe as a disturbance approaches from the Atlantic. Conditions over Scandinavia will gradually improve during the course of the week. Weak high pressure will keep the Mediterranean region sunny and dry. Low pressure will trigger showers across Turkey.

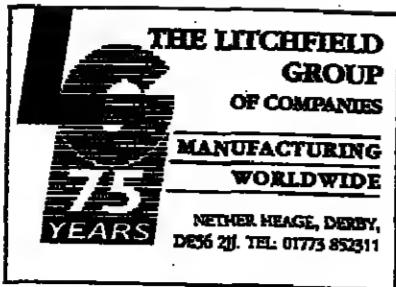
Today's temperatures

	Maximum	Beijing	Istanbul	Thurday 31	Faro	Sun 26	Madrid	Sun 26	Hanover	Sun 30	Paris	Sun 26	London	Sun 26	Stockholm	Sun 26	Toronto	Sun 25	Vancouver	Sun 31
Abu Dhabi	sun 40	Belgrade	shower 24	Caracas	fair 19	sun 19	Malaga	sun 26	Frankfurt	shower 31	Paris	cloudy 13								
Accra	cloudy 29	Berlin	shower 16	Casablanca	fair 23	Geneva	thund 20	Malta	sun 27	Rio	sun 30									
Algiers	fair 17	Bogota	shower 15	Chicago	fair 32	Gibraltar	sun 24	Manchester	sun 19	Rome	fair 27									
Amsterdam	fair 17	Bordeaux	shower 18	Dubai	fair 40	Hamburg	shund 22	Montevideo	shund 24	Stockholm	shund 18									
Athens	sun 34	Bombay	shund 31	Brussels	fair 17	Helsinki	shund 32	Melbourne	shund 28	Singapore	shund 32									
Atlanta	sun 31	Budapest	shund 22	Dubai	fair 35	Hong Kong	shund 33	Milan	shund 33	Stockholm	shund 18									
B Aires	sun 15	Buenos Aires	shund 19	Dubai	fair 36	Istanbul	shund 32	Montreal	shund 27	Sydney	shund 19									
B ham	sun 19	Cagliari	shund 19	Dubai	fair 37	Johannesburg	shund 32	Moscow	shund 25	Thru 25	shund 23									
Bangkok	shund 37	Cairo	shund 23	Dubrovnik	fair 18	Karachi	shund 37	Montreal	shund 24	Tel Aviv	shund 23									
Barcelona	fair 23	Cape Town	shund 17	Edinburgh	shund 21	Khartoum	shund 37	Nairobi	shund 24	Tokyo	shund 27									

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Week 26

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IN BRIEF

Cisco and Alcatel in internet link

Two of the world's biggest makers of telecommunications equipment - Cisco Systems of the US and Alcatel Alsthom of France - have announced a partnership to capitalise on the convergence of the internet and telephone networks. Page 22

Sita pays \$1.2bn for waste business
Waste Management International, the US-controlled waste disposal group, has sold the bulk of its French operations for FFr651.3m (\$111.9m). Sita, a subsidiary of Lyonnaise des Eaux, the French utilities group, bought WMI's French operations, which serve municipal, industrial and commercial clients. Page 26

Union Pacific in \$6.4bn bid for Pennzoco
Pennzoco shares soared in New York as rival US oil producer Union Pacific Resources launched a hostile \$6.4bn takeover bid and filed lawsuits in a move to disable Pennzoco's array of "poison pill" defences. Page 22

Lord Moyne fails in bid to buy Amer
The ownership of Amer, the Finnish sporting goods group, appears to be up for sale again after the collapse of a deal between the owners of the group's controlling K-shareholders and Lord Moyne, the former Mr Jonathan Guinness, of the Irish beverages dynasty. Page 22

WH Smith loses chief executive to BT
Shares in WH Smith, the UK retailer, fell to a two-year low as it announced the departure of its chief executive, Mr Bill Cockburn, after only 18 months in the post. Mr Cockburn is to become group managing director at BT. Page 26

European sales H.R. Dickson's profit
Dickson Concepts, the Hong Kong retailer which owns Harvey Nichols of the UK, reported a trebling of net profits to HK\$1.55bn (US\$1.4m) for the year to March 31, boosted by the sale of two European operations. Page 24

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FRANKFURT (DM)		PARIS (FFV)	
Tele	+ 4	Alcatel	985 + 12
SGL Carbon	+ 4	BC	985 + 13
Feile	- 7	Cap Gemini	550.40 + 2.40
Alcatel	- 1283	British B-Sky	42
GEFC	- 1,100.00	Paris	1215 - 27
Merck	- 320	Santander	517 - 21
Lotto	- 1320	Santini	517 - 21
NEW YORK (\$)		TOKYO (Yen)	
Philips	74 + 51	Daiwa House	1250 + 50
Perfumex	704 + 216	Hitachi	1004 + 100
Telecom Comp	216 + 216	Sumitomo	2630 + 70
Western Corp	224 + 224	Omron	3270 + 60
Feile	- 574 - 116	Philips	2400 + 70
CGC Corp	- 574 - 116	Agfa	3220 - 50
Tesco	- 224 - 224	Brooks	2220 + 22
Philips	- 224 - 224	Philips	2220 + 22
Merck	- 354 - 156	East of Asia	3180 + 150
Procter	- 50 - 50	Chionex Est H	740 + 140
TEI	- 70 - 48	Reco	2220 + 22
Feile	- 5075 - 2116	First Pacific	820 - 10
Salad Oil	- 222 - 222	Hong Kong	1420 - 110
Procter	- 73 - 20	New Wil Day	47.40 - 1.10
TORONTO (Cdn\$)		BANGKOK (Baht)	
Philips	0.70 + 0.50	Indra Soft	52.50 + 4.75
Entel	0.50 + 0.50	Siemag	12.00 + 1.00
Telecom	0.20 + 0.45	Siemag Com	8.00 + 0.50
Concord Inc	0.20 + 0.45	Thai Farmers	8.20 + 0.75
Gen Motors	0.25 + 0.50	Philips	12.00 + 1.25
Feile	- 1.00 - 0.85	Central Pet	35.00 - 4.00
Colgate Pac Exp	- 20.50 - 1.00	Pan Asia Pet	11.00 - 1.25

New York & Toronto prices at 12.30

UK chemicals group details planned £1bn public offering

ICI outlines Australian sale

By Nikki Tait in Sydney
and Roger Taylor in London

public offering, ICI will lose control of its paint brands, such as Dulux, in Australasia.

The sale, announced in principle last month, is part of a £3bn programme of disposals to fund ICI's 24.9% acquisition of Unilever's specialty chemicals business.

ICI's hopes of raising £1bn from the offering were bolstered yesterday when the Australian group's shares, which have risen since the sale was announced, closed up 20 cents at A\$12.50, valuing ICI's stake at A\$32.5m (£1.7bn).

Once the Australian disposal is completed, ICI plans to sell up to £2bn worth of com-

pany chemicals businesses and to refocus the company on higher-margin speciality products.

The importance of the strategy was underlined in a separate development yesterday, when ICI's shares fell sharply in London. They dropped 40p, or 5 per cent, to 805p after US broker Merrill Lynch cut its profit forecast for this year from £550m to £450m.

Analysts said further profits downgrades were expected because of a rise in the price of commodity chemicals had failed to materialise and because of the continued strength of sterling. Explain-

ing the details of the Australian offering, ICI said retail investors would be offered a 40 cent discount on the offer price and would not be asked to pay more than £12.40 per share.

No fixed price has been established for the offer but institutional investors are invited to submit bids from July 1.

Priority will be given to applications from existing ICI Australasia shareholders.

Between 120m and 143m shares will be offered for sale, with underwriters being given an additional "over-allotment" option of up to 12m shares. If exercised, this would mean ICI

would sell 155m shares, out of its total holding of 185m, through the offer.

The remaining stake is due to be bought by ICI Australia, which has already agreed to buy back up to A\$300m-worth of shares from ICI at a 1.5 per cent discount to the offer price or A\$11.96, whichever is higher.

This is subject to shareholder approval at an extraordinary meeting to be held on Wednesday.

ICI said it expected to announce the final offering price, as a result of bids received, and the basis for allocations on July 12.

Reed buys Disney's Chilton trade titles

By Raymond Snoddy
in London and Chris Parkes
in Los Angeles

Reed Elsevier, the Anglo-Dutch media and information group, yesterday expanded its interests in US trade press publishing by agreeing to pay \$447m in cash for the three main divisions of the Chilton Business Group.

Chilton, which owns trade magazines in the manufacturing, entertainment, automotive and specialist retail sector, is part of ABC, the television network group, in turn a subsidiary of Walt Disney.

The deal fits Reed's strategy of expanding in the fields of professional "must have" information, with emphasis on the US market.

Less than three months ago the company agreed to spend \$300m on MDL Information Systems, a company specialising in research and development information.

Reed executives are pleased that the Chilton deal will give Cahners, its US publishing division, business magazines in the automotive sector.

Chilton, which has 39 titles and operates mainly from Radnor, Pennsylvania, reported profits before tax of \$28m on revenues of \$202m in the year to December 1996.

The company's trade magazine and research services divisions will merge with Cahners to form Reed Elsevier Business Information. The new operating group will be headed by Mr Bruce Barnet, Cahners' president and chief executive.

Mr Barnet said yesterday that the acquisitions - especially the manufacturing and entertainment titles - gave his company "greater connectivity" in its main markets and added to the volume of data available for its database and other electronic services.

The disposal brings Disney's pre-tax gains from sales of publishing interests to more than \$2bn this year.

Knight-Ridder paid \$1.65bn in April for four regional daily newspapers. Disney

COMPANIES AND FINANCE: THE AMERICAS

UPR launches hostile bid for Pennzoil

By Christopher Parkes
in Los Angeles

Pennzoil shares soared in New York yesterday as rival oil producer Union Pacific Resources launched a hostile \$6.4bn takeover bid and filed lawsuits in a move to disable Pennzoil's array of "poison pill" defences.

The target's stock rose more than 40 per cent to \$35 before the market opened, after UPR, which was spun off from the Union Pacific railway group last year, presented its cash and stock offer.

The bid could mark a new, more aggressive stage in the shake-out of the US oil industry, which for the past year has centred on friendly asset swaps and collaborative efforts to restructure the crowded oil refining and petrol retailing sector.

It follows four months of futile attempts by UPR to open merger talks with Pennzoil and approaches made in 1995, when Pennzoil proposed merging with UPR when it was still part of Union Pacific, the bidder said yesterday.

UPR, which has annual revenues

of about \$2bn, compared with Pennzoil's \$2.6bn, presented its offer as an attempt to create the "premier independent exploration and production company in the US". According to a letter released yesterday, Pennzoil had previously rejected all offers, without any discussions with UPR.

"Your continued refusal to discuss the rationale or valuation of a transaction has left us with no choice but to present our offer directly to Pennzoil shareholders," wrote Mr Jack Messman, UPR chairman and chief executive. "We

are still prepared to discuss a friendly transaction," he added.

Mr Messman's letter, to Mr James Pate, his counterpart at Pennzoil, stressed the complementary nature of the two companies' operations - UPR's drilling and exploration expertise, and Pennzoil's US production base, refining and marketing operations and internationally known brand-name.

Pennzoil yesterday said it would reply to the offer by July 7 and asked shareholders not to take any action before then.

According to terms released yes-

terday, UPR proposed a cash tender offer for 50.1 per cent of Pennzoil's stock, followed by a tax-free exchange of shares for the balance, at a deal valued at \$34 a share.

UPR also yesterday filed three lawsuits, including one in a Delaware court seeking a judgment ordering Pennzoil to lift its anti-takeover defences. UPR claimed the defences, including a poison-pill shareholder rights plan, would prevent shareholder rights plan from accepting the offer and would "entrench Pennzoil's management".

AMERICAS NEWS DIGEST

Southam vote is postponed

A vote was postponed until last night on a contentious bid by Hollinger, the international media group controlled by Mr Conrad Black, to buy out minority shareholders in Southam, Canada's biggest daily newspaper chain.

A special meeting of Southam shareholders, originally scheduled for 11am Toronto time, was postponed until 5pm on the grounds that Hollinger's offer only expired at 5pm.

Several large institutional shareholders earlier indicated they would vote against the Hollinger cash-and-shares offer. A committee of independent Southam directors has valued the offer at C\$23.55-23.95 a share.

The directors recommended acceptance after Hollinger modified the offer earlier this month without increasing the monetary amount. However, some analysts and shareholders have suggested the offer undervalues Southam by C\$1-C\$1.50 a share.

Mr Peter Atkinson, a Hollinger director, said yesterday the offer would not be improved before the reconvened meeting.

Hollinger presently owns 50.5 per cent of Southam. It requires the approval of two-thirds of minority shareholders to take Southam private.

Bernard Simon, Toronto

Fairfax buys Sphere Drake

Fairfax, the Canadian insurer, has bought Sphere Drake, the Bermuda-based reinsurance group, in a deal valuing it at up to \$320m. The acquisition of Sphere Drake, which went public on the New York Stock Exchange four years ago after it was bought out from Alexander & Alexander, its US parent, is the latest twist in a restructuring of the reinsurance sector.

Shareholders in the group will receive \$7.50 a share in cash or Fairfax shares and up to \$3.68 a share payable in 10 years. Fairfax will take on Sphere Drake's debt of \$100m.

A flurry of acquisitions over the last year has reshaped the reinsurance industry. Demand for reinsurers with the financial clout and geographical spread to absorb big risks has grown, while falling premium rates have intensified competition.

Sphere Drake suffered a slide in first-quarter pre-tax profits this year from \$9.6m to \$2.6m amid deteriorating market conditions. It has been restructuring its operations in Bermuda and in London and sold its specialist yacht and cargo business to Cox Insurance, the Lloyd's insurer, in January. Its three largest shareholders - Centre Capital Investments, Electric Investment Trust and Dai-Ichi Life International, representing 40 per cent of the shares - have already backed the offer from Fairfax. Shares in Fairfax rose C\$11 to C\$17.3 in Toronto, while Sphere Drake slipped 5% to 83% in New York.

Christopher Adams, London

Thomson silent on sale talk

Thomson Corp declined to comment yesterday on reports Thomson is in the UK that the company was looking to sell Thomson Travel Group, its UK-based leisure unit, to London investment banks. A spokesman at Thomson's headquarters in Stamford, Connecticut, declined to confirm that the Toronto-based conglomerate was in talks to sell the travel unit, which comprises the UK's second-largest charter airline and the Lunn Poly chain of travel agencies.

In 1996, Thomson Travel accounted for US\$2.48bn, or 33 per cent, of the conglomerate's \$7.72bn of revenue. Thomson's important holdings include Thomson Travel, Thomson newspapers, which publishes more than 100 daily newspapers in North America and more than 350 advertising supplements, and West Publishing Co, which Thomson acquired in 1996 for \$3.425bn in cash.

Reuter, Toronto

Midas to be spun off

Midas International, the world's largest automotive service franchise, will be spun off as an independently traded company so that Whitman, its parent, can focus on its giant Pepsi-Cola bottling business, Whitman said yesterday. Whitman will also spin off Hussmann Corp, a large food refrigeration systems maker, as part of the plan to shift direct ownership of the subsidiaries to Whitman shareholders.

Whitman owns Pepsi-Cola General Bottlers, the world's largest independent Pepsi-Cola franchisee, which accounts for half the company's sales and more than half its operating income. The board also authorised the repurchase of an additional 5m shares of its common stock. Analysts applauded the announcement, boosting Whitman's stock \$2.50 to \$25.875 on the New York Stock Exchange in late-morning trading.

Reuter, Chicago

Repsol mulls Argentine buy

Repsol, the large Spanish energy group, may increase its 45 per cent stake in Argentina's Pluspetrol Energy as part of its expansion in the region, Repsol said yesterday. Repsol would make the Pluspetrol purchase through Astra CAPSA, another Argentine energy company of which it holds 49 per cent. "We're talking" about the possibility, said Mr Miguel Angel Ramon Gil, Repsol head of planning and control.

The Spanish company paid \$340m for its initial Pluspetrol stake in January. Pluspetrol has a 60 per cent interest in the northwestern Ramos field, which holds 100bn cu m of gas, making it the nation's second-largest gas field, and 100m barrels of petroleum. It also owns a large food refrigeration systems maker, as part of the plan to shift direct ownership of the subsidiaries to Whitman shareholders.

Both companies said they had been prompted to act by the convergence of voice, data and video traffic, which reflects a demand from customers for a single access point to telecommunications networks.

Neither company ruled out closer ties in the future.

Comments and press releases about international companies coverage can be sent by e-mail to international.companies@ft.com

Alcatel Alsthom and Cisco unveil networks tie-up

By Richard Waters
in New York

Two of the world's biggest makers of telecommunications equipment yesterday announced a partnership agreement to try to capitalise on the rapid convergence of the internet and traditional voice telephone networks.

The agreement brings together Cisco Systems, the US company which dominates the market for the routers which control traffic on the internet, and Alcatel Alsthom, the French group which claims to be the biggest manufacturer of the switches which are central to voice networks.

The relationship is unlikely pairing of an entrepreneurial West Coast company with a long-established European manufacturer.

Mr John Chambers, Cisco chief executive, acknowledged that such partnerships always pose challenges and often failed.

However, he added that the two sides had planned 10-12 new products or services as a result of the link, and that this provided a framework for the two companies to work together for the next three years.

Although the agreement is not exclusive, it represents a coup for Alcatel. The company would otherwise have had to develop its own expertise in equipment that can handle both voice and

data traffic, said Mr Josep Cornu, president.

The link with Cisco, which makes about 90 per cent of internet routing equipment, will give Alcatel a tie with the company which is widely acknowledged as leader in the sector.

The California-based group also has the software skills that will enable Alcatel to develop "intelligent" switches that can be programmed by customers to provide services they request, said Mr Cornu.

For Cisco, the partnership could provide a new source of revenues and help reinforce its leading position in infrastructure for data networks.

The new products and services which will result from the relationship are intended to generate \$300m of extra revenue for Cisco by 2000, said Mr Chambers.

Although he did not describe these products in detail, he said that they would include both the equipment through which users access telecommunications networks, as well as the wider networks themselves.

Both companies said they had been prompted to act by the convergence of voice, data and video traffic, which reflects a demand from customers for a single access point to telecommunications networks.

Neither company ruled out closer ties in the future.

News Corp, TCI in \$850m buy

By Christopher Parkes

News Corporation yesterday extended its reach into the US sports television market with a \$850m joint-venture deal to buy 40 per cent of the Rainbow Media, owner of the Madison Square Garden venue, sports teams and a clutch of regional sports TV networks.

The move, in harness with Tele-Communications Inc, the biggest US cable TV operator, is believed to be the second time in a month that News Corp has outbid Walt Disney for a popular US television concern.

Following the \$1.8bn purchase of International Family Entertainment - whose widely distributed Family

Channel service also attracted Disney's attention - the latest buy will help strengthen News Corp's hand against Disney's ESPN cable networks.

Although Disney is believed to have joined the bidding in an attempt to foil News Corp's ambitions, its chances were limited by a recent deal under which TCI exchanged 800,000 of its New York cable subscribers for a one-third stake in Cablevision, which owns 75 per cent of Rainbow.

News Corp, which is controlled by Mr Rupert Murdoch, is also currently in the closing stages of talks to buy the Los Angeles Dodgers, one of the best-known US baseball teams.

Following the \$1.8bn purchase of International Family Entertainment - whose widely distributed Family

Under the deal announced yesterday, Fox/Liberty Networks, jointly owned by News Corp and TCI, will share control with Rainbow of a national sports programming venture which will reach 55m US households.

Programming - all under the Fox Sports Net name - will appear on nine Fox/Liberty cable TV networks, eight Rainbow channels and News Corp's fledgling Fox Sports regional systems.

"This is a major step in providing a real national sports network under the Fox name," Mr Murdoch said.

However, the new venture could lead to closer links as Mr Murdoch builds on his embryonic collection of sports teams and arenas.

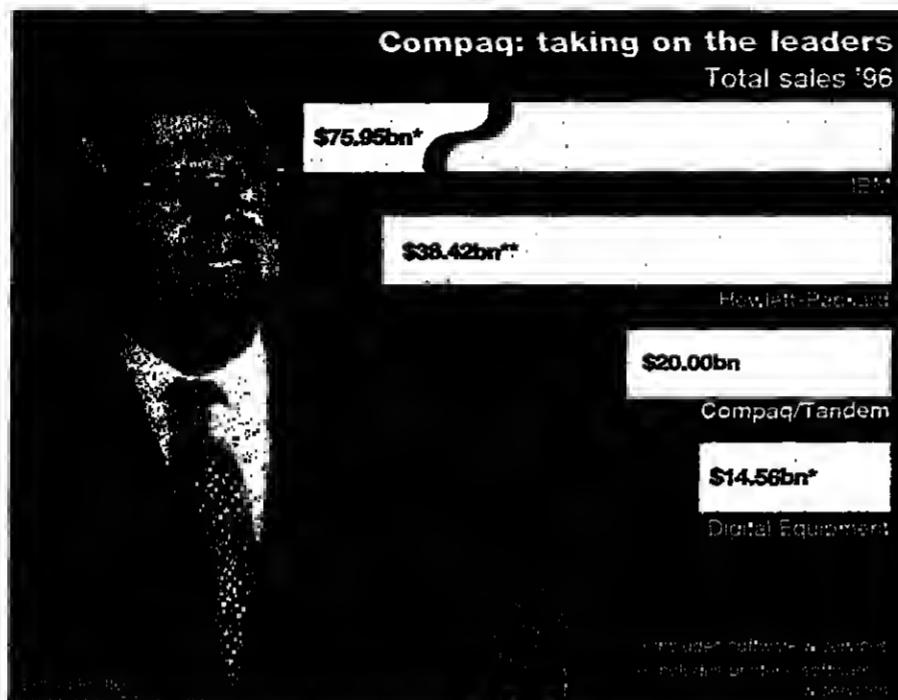
Tandem deal puts Compaq in global league

Compaq Computer's ambitions know few bounds. With the personal computer industry leader aiming to leapfrog much larger companies to become the world leader in all types of "open systems" computers.

Already, Compaq has become a formidable competitor to some of the world's biggest computer companies such as International Business Machines, Hewlett-Packard and Digital Equipment.

Building on its strong base in personal computers, Compaq has become the runaway leader in so-called "PC servers", computers that are widely used in office networks. Recently, Compaq also launched an attack on the workstation market with products that match the performance, at much lower prices, of workstations from Sun Microsystems and Hewlett-Packard.

"Tandem will double the size of the market we address," said Mr Pfeiffer. Tandem will



also bring to Compaq many of the things the company needs if it is to achieve its ambition to become one of the world's top computer suppliers.

The size of Compaq's sales force will double overnight to about 8,000 people, enabling the company to address broader markets.

Compaq's expertise in system software will also be an

important addition to Compaq's arsenal. The purchase will immediately add to Compaq's revenues, the company said. Tandem will, however, have to realign its operating system software strategy to focus on Windows NT. Until now it has also offered Unix systems.

Reviewing the competitive landscape, Mr Pfeiffer said that Digital Equipment, which claims to be the leading supplier of Windows NT servers, was faltering due to

its legal battles with Intel, the microprocessor manufacturer.

Digital also faces the challenge of maintaining the momentum of its "Alpha" products built using its own proprietary microprocessors.

Hewlett-Packard, while stronger, has only recently begun to embrace the Windows NT operating system for high performance servers, with most of its products running the Unix operating system.

HP is working with Intel on the development of a new generation of high performance microprocessors.

As the companies combine operations, Tandem will retain its name and be known as a "Compaq company". Tandem's Mr Roel Pieper will remain chief executive of the subsidiary and report to Mr Pfeiffer.

Compaq's acquisition of Tandem also brings together two of the veterans of the US venture capital community: Mr Ben Rosen, chairman of Compaq, and Mr Tom Perkins, chairman of Tandem, who will join Compaq's board.

Louise Kehoe

All of these securities having been sold, this advertisement appears as a matter of record only.

5,520,000 Shares



LHS Group Inc.

Common Stock

(par value \$0.01 per share)

1,104,000 Shares

This portion of the offering was offered outside the United States by the undersigned.

Goldman Sachs International

Cowen & Company

Robertson, Stephens & Company LLC

Banque Nationale de Paris

ING Barings

BHF-BANK

Yamaichi International (Europe) Limited

4,416,000 Shares

This portion of the offering was offered in the United States by the undersigned.

Goldman, Sachs & Co.

Cowen & Company

Robertson, Stephens & Company LLC

Alex. Brown & Sons Incorporated

Lehman Brothers

Dain Bosworth Incorporated

Scott & Stringfellow, Inc.

Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Securities Corporation

Montgomery Securities

Everen Securities, Inc.

Morgan Stanley Dean Witter

Edward D. Jones & Co., L.P.</p

Joy, 10/5/97

Southam vote
is postponed

COMPANIES AND FINANCE: EUROPE

Family conflict over Publicis stake grows

By Andrew Jack in Paris

One of the children of the founder of Publicis, the quoted French advertising agency, yesterday raised the stakes in her battle to sell her shares in the group by threatening legal action.

In an interview in *Les Echos* newspaper, Ms Michèle Bleustein-Blanchet attacked Somarel, the family holding company that owns 35 per cent of Publicis, and warned she would sue unless a settlement was reached soon.

Ms Bleustein-Blanchet, the daughter of Marcel Bleustein-Blanchet, who created Publicis in 1927, has been trying to sell her stake in the group since her father's death last year.

She said that there was a "real disagreement" over ownership and demanded that Somarel's statutes be changed and its illiquid, unlisted shares be converted into Publicis shares, which are quoted in Paris.

She accused her elder sister, Ms Elisabeth Badinier, the head of the Publicis supervisory board since the death of her father, of blocking the sale of her shares in Somarel by "dissuading" potential purchasers.

She said her sister, who owns nearly 34 per cent of Somarel and has the mandate to run the group until 2015, had never played a "decisive role" in Publicis,



Maurice Lévy: confident that a solution can be found

whereas she had headed its drugstore business from 1972 to 1981.

Ms Bleustein-Blanchet owns nearly 8 per cent of Publicis directly, but most of her stake is held through Somarel, in which she owns just under 30 per cent.

Somarel's shareholders - who include Mr Bleustein-Blanchet's widow, his two surviving daughters and the two children of his deceased daughter - have pre-emption rights in any share sales. Under a change to the statutes, Ms Badinier also has minority blocking power.

Mr Bleustein-Blanchet said she had appointed SBC Warburg, the investment bank, to find a buyer for her stake by mid-August.

Mr Maurice Lévy, chief executive of Publicis, denied he was interested in buying Ms Bleustein-Blanchet's stake, which he said could fetch nearly FF1bn (317m).

Trumpf sees strong demand

By Peter Marsh

Trumpf of Germany, Europe's second-biggest machine tool company, said yesterday that demand for its specialised cutting systems remained strong and announced that profits for its financial year ending next week would rise about 16 per cent compared with 1995-96.

On the basis of provisional data for the year to June 30, the privately-owned Trumpf expected sales to rise some 16 per cent from DM927m the previous year to about DM1.07bn (\$618m).

There would be a corresponding rise in pre-tax profit, implying an increase from DM105m to about DM123m.

Mr Ludwig Litzenberger, marketing director, said sales had been strong across most of Trumpf's main markets - particularly the US, which accounts for about one-sixth of sales. The year ahead looked "promising", he said. The weak D-Mark had helped sales outside Germany, which account for 60 per cent of revenues.

Trumpf is the world's biggest maker of laser cutting tools for shaping sheet metal in a range of industries, including computers, farm machinery and office equipment. Unlike many of its competitors, the company makes its own lasers.

and an improved profit outlook. The group, which would adopt the Christiania name, would have about 32 per cent of the domestic life assurance market, 39 per cent of the non-life market and 12 per cent of the market for bank loans, and would manage 18 per cent of the country's mutual funds.

The merger would create a group, topped by a holding company, with a market value of about Nkr13bn (\$1.78bn), making it the sixth-largest financial services group in the Nordic region, and the second-largest company on the Oslo Stock Exchange.

But the vote will also give a colourful collection of Norwegian entrepreneurs a chance to further their campaign for a reduction in state ownership of business. Their argument is that state ownership reduces competition and keeps prices high.

Several of the largest shareholders in Storebrand - including Orkla, the food and beverage industry group, and Mr Kjell Inge Røkke, the chairman and largest shareholder in RGI, the offshore engineering and

seafoods group - have refrained from saying how they will vote on Thursday, which leaves the fate of the merger wide open.

Christiania and Storebrand's boards claim that the formation of a powerful domestic "bancassurance" group will create a more competitive force with enhanced growth prospects.

Its insurance subsidiary, Vital.

Outside of banking and finance, the state enjoys full ownership of Statoil, the oil and gas production and distribution company, and a 51 per cent holding in Norak Hydro, the oil and gas, light metals and fertiliser group.

If Mr Røkke and Mr Jens P. Heyerdal, Orkla chief executive, come out against the merger on Thursday, they will almost certainly argue that the increasing power of the state over Norwegian business is the reason for their opposition. The argument was recently aired by shipowner Mr Tharald Brosvig, who owns 0.7 per cent of the shares in Store-

brand and is campaigning against the merger.

He is worried by the narrowing of the plurality of ownership in Norwegian business. "Less plurality means less competition, less innovation, less efficiency, higher prices and bigger profits," he says. He says that once the state becomes a substantial shareholder in a company, hostile raiders do not stand a chance. "No wonder growing state ownership/influence meets so little opposition from corporate managements," he said.

The colourful Mr Røkke, aged 37, is just such a hostile raider. He joined a trawler when he left school aged 16, and went on rapidly to build up a substantial fortune in the fisheries business, mainly through operations based in Seattle. Last year he gained control of Aker, one of the jewels in Norway's industrial crown, which he merged with his own Resource Group International. The Norwegian business establishment was rocked to its core.

One of those who tried to block Mr Røkke's way into Aker was Mr Lars Korvold, chief executive of Storebrand. The speculation in Oslo is that if Mr Røkke and his friends can muster the 38 per cent of the votes necessary to block the merger, Mr Korvold's tenure of his position at Storebrand will be notably brief.

Hilary Barnes

EUROPEAN NEWS DIGEST

Heavy demand for OTE retail tranche

Retail demand outstripped institutional interest in OTE, the Greek public telecoms operator, in last week's sale of a 12 per cent equity stake under the Socialist government's partial privatisation scheme. The Dr120bn (\$438m) retail tranche was oversubscribed 3.5 times, while the remaining Dr230bn was oversubscribed 1.6 times by international and domestic institutions.

Retail investors bought 35 per cent of the offering but were allocated only 80 shares each, officials said. Domestic institutions took up 17 per cent of the offering, with preference given to Greek pension funds; while international institutions covered the remaining 48 per cent. OTE's share price has fallen in the after-market, from Dr6.90 to the book-building price of Dr6.60, with several international institutions selling their allocations immediately. However, the operator's Dr189bn rights issue, which followed the equity offering, was fully subscribed. The Greek state bought its full 80 per cent quota.

The Greek operator plans to use proceeds from the issue to acquire stakes in regional telecoms companies. It is negotiating for 85 per cent of Armen Telecom, the Armenian state operator, following the acquisition earlier this month of 20 per cent of Telekom Serbia, and also plans to bid for a minority stake in BTC, the Bulgarian operator, due to be privatised later this year.

Karin Hope, Athens

Roche agrees US deal

Roche, the Swiss pharmaceuticals company, could end up owning close to 10 per cent of ICN Pharmaceuticals, the US group, following the sale to ICN of a manufacturing plant in Puerto Rico and nine prescription drugs. ICN is buying Roche's plant at Humacao, Puerto Rico, for \$53m and paying another \$90m for the worldwide rights to seven Roche products and the non-US rights to two others.

ICN is paying cash for the manufacturing plant and will issue 1.6m shares of common stock and 2m shares of convertible preferred stock for the product rights. ICN has about 37m shares outstanding and is capitalised at just under \$300m. Roche's decision to sell the products, with annual sales of \$55m, is part of its strategy to streamline its product portfolio and improve the efficiency of its manufacturing operations.

William Hall, Zurich

Orix in Polish leasing move

Orix Corporation, the Japanese group which is one of the world's largest leasing companies, has entered Poland's \$600m-a-year leasing market by taking over the Polish Leasing Fund, which was set up two years ago by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the US-funded Polish American Enterprise Fund.

Some 6 per cent of capital goods purchases in Poland are financed through leasing arrangements. Orix is the first large foreign-owned leasing company to enter Poland. It is in partnership with the EBED, which retains a 15 per cent stake in the venture. The PAFB has sold its stake in the PLF to Orix.

Christopher Bobinski, Warsaw

Tiamia buys Eleusis shipyard

Tiamia, the Greek ship-repair company, is to pay Dr30m (\$110m) for the assets of Eleusis Shipyards, which was placed in liquidation two years ago by the Socialist government. The deal marks the revival of a much-delayed privatisation programme for heavily-indebted state enterprises. Payment will be made in instalments over 15 years, and Tiamia will retain at least 750 of the 1,800 workers at the yard. Tiamia has agreed to invest Dr6.6m in modernising the yard, which repairs medium-sized vessels near Piraeus port. The sale of Eleusis means that Greece's three state-owned shipyards are all under private control.

Karin Hope

Hapoalim sell-off set to start

Two investor groups are expected to begin bidding within days for a stake in Bank Hapoalim, Israel's largest bank, which is being partially sold as part of the government's privatisation programme.

The Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz reported that the investor group led by Mr Ted Arison, the US businessman, plans to bid between US\$225m-\$350m for 25 per cent of the bank, which would value it at between \$2.45bn and \$2.67bn. At current prices, Bank Hapoalim's market capitalisation is about \$2.8bn. Mr Arison's group includes Claridge-Israel, the investment company backed by Mr Charles Bronfman, the Canadian entrepreneur. The second group, led by Mr Jeffrey Katz, the US banker, is also expected to begin talks with the government shortly.

Avi Machlis, Jerusalem

Amer back on block as deal collapses

By Hilary Barnes
in Copenhagen

The ownership of Amer, the Finnish sporting goods group, appears to be up for grabs again after the collapse of a deal between the owners of the group's controlling K shares and Lord Moyne, the former Mr Jonathan Guinness, of the Irish beverages dynasty.

The latest twist in the tale of Amer's recent fortunes came when four academic institutions, which own 12.6 per cent of the shares but 91 per cent of the voting capital, cancelled an agreement with Lord Moyne, who was proposing to buy 58.4 per cent of Amer's stock for FM301m (\$63m).

Amer gave no reason for the cancellation.

Mr Keikki Kauppi, director of one of the four institutions, the Association of Graduate Engineers, was quoted by a leading Helsinki newspaper as saying: "The terms of the contract have failed to materialise."

Just over 60 per cent of Amer's turnover of FM4.9m comes from two sporting goods companies - Wilson, which manufactures tennis equipment, and Atomic, the ski-maker.

The group sold another sports goods unit, golfing equipment business McGregor, last year.

The cancellation of the deal with Lord Moyne may open the way for a new approach from Norvesta, the Finnish investment company.

Norvesta made an initial approach to the holders of the K shares but was rebuffed because of Lord Moyne's offer.

Mr Timo Looptyniemi, chief executive of Norvesta, said that his company was still prepared to buy part of Amer's K shares.

Amer has been plagued by losses, changes of senior managers, failures to meet earnings forecasts and disputes over corporate strategy over the past two years.

The ownership structure has not helped Amer to sort out its problems.

The four institutions have been bound by an arrangement whereby they must all agree to sell their K shares or none can be sold.

The agreement with Lord Moyne finally promised to give the company an owner who would enable the group to re-establish a sense of direction.

However, Mr Roger Talerman, chief executive, was quoted as saying: "Things can hardly get worse," with managers unable to focus on running the company as long as the ownership issue is still unsettled.

Business versus state in Oslo

Opponents of Nkr13bn merger have attacked government role

A cliff-hanger vote is expected on Thursday when up to 1,500 shareholders in Storebrand, Norway's largest insurance company, will pack Oslo Concert Hall to decide on a proposed merger with Christiania Bank, the country's second-largest commercial bank.

The merger would create a group, topped by a holding company, with a market value of about Nkr13bn (\$1.78bn), making it the sixth-largest financial services group in the Nordic region, and the second-largest company on the Oslo Stock Exchange.

The vote will also give a colourful collection of Norwegian entrepreneurs a chance to further their campaign for a reduction in state ownership of business.

But the industrial justification for the link-up has been overshadowed by the personal ambitions of some of the main players and the issue of the role of the state in Norwegian business.

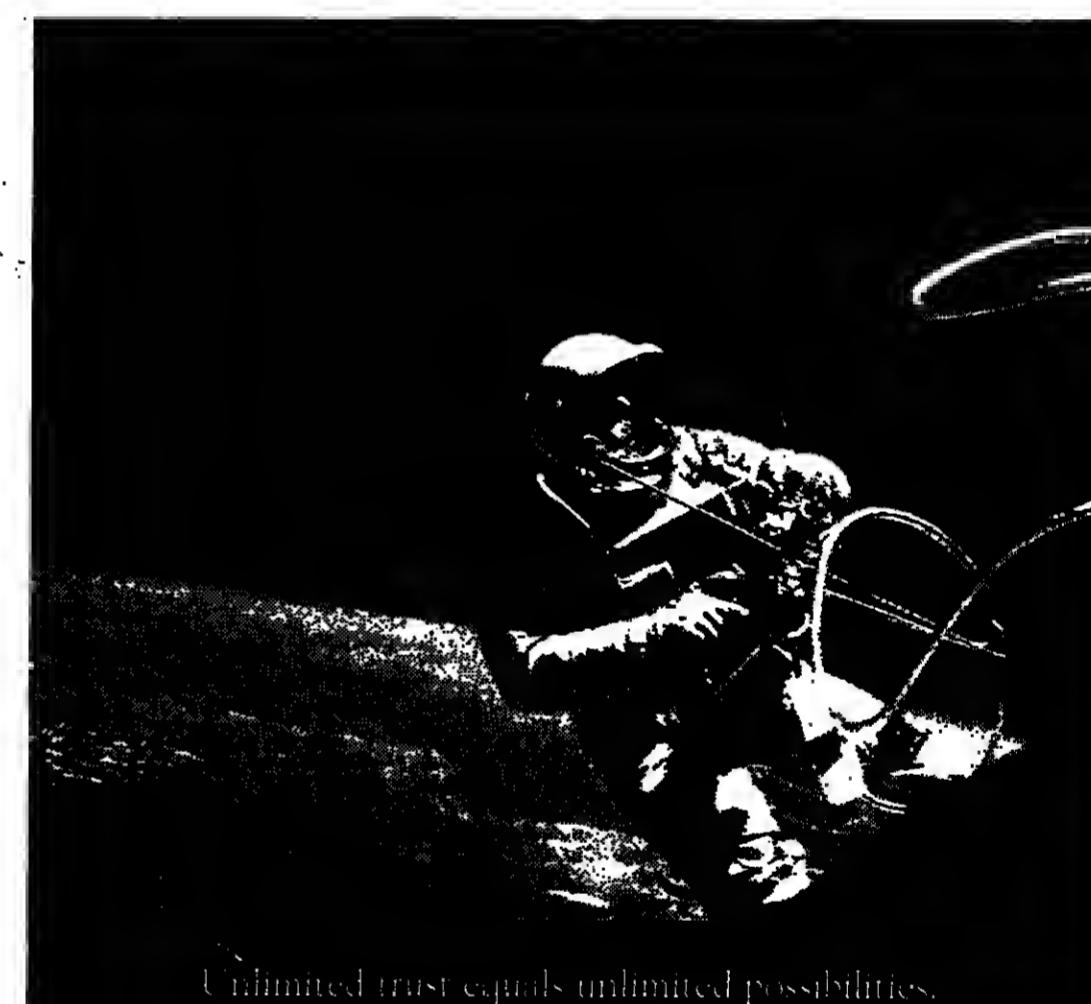
The state directly owns about 51 per cent of Christiania Bank through its Bank Security Fund, which was established during the banking crisis of the early 1990s.

The fund would be left with just over 25 per cent in the group created by the merger, although stakes held by other state bodies, including the Social Security Fund and Postbanken, would give the state control over one-third of the shares.

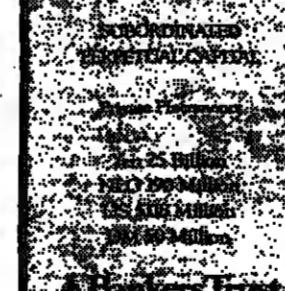
This gives the state a private insurance subsidiary, Vital.

Outside of banking and finance, the state enjoys full ownership of Statoil, the oil and gas production and distribution company, and a 51 per cent holding in Norak Hydro, the oil and gas, light metals and fertiliser group.

If Mr Røkke and Mr Jens P. Heyerdal, Orkla chief executive, come out against the merger on Thursday, they will almost certainly argue that the increasing power of the state over Norwegian business is the reason for their opposition. The argument was recently aired by shipowner Mr Tharald Brosvig, who owns 0.7 per cent of the shares in Storebrand.



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COMPANIES AND FINANCE: ASIA-PACIFIC

Korean carmakers dismiss talk of cash problems

By John Burton in Seoul

The chairman of the Kia motor group yesterday met South Korea's finance minister to complain that rumours about the conglomerate's financial health were making it difficult to secure new loans.

The meeting followed a request by Kia's car and steel divisions that the state-run Korea Development Bank provide a total of W60bn (\$67.5m) in emergency loans, as some creditors were reluctant to provide more funds to the country's third-biggest carmaker.

Share prices of Kia companies have fallen sharply in the past

week after Asia Motors, its truck subsidiary, briefly delayed loan payments because of a cash flow problem caused by the "groundless malignant rumours", according to Mr Kim Sun-hong, Kia chairman.

It was the latest example of how Kia and Ssangyong, the nation's fourth-biggest vehicle producer, have been troubled by rumours in recent months as the Korean car industry confronts a saturated domestic market and production over-capacity.

Speculation about the fate of many of Korea's conglomerates has circulated after the bankruptcy of the Hanbo and Sammi steel groups earlier this year.

Kia and Ssangyong are considered to be financially less robust than their bigger car rivals, Hyundai and Daewoo. But Ssangyong and Kia officials suspect they are victims of a campaign to undermine creditor confidence and force them to merge with competitors.

The issue came to the fore recently when Kia and Ssangyong threatened to sue Samsung, another Korean conglomerate that is scheduled to begin production next year.

The two carmakers protested against an internal Samsung report leaked to the media that suggested the government should encourage a consolidation of the

crowded Korean motor industry through mergers. The Samsung report was interpreted as an indication that it intended to take over either Kia or Ssangyong.

Ssangyong would appear to be most vulnerable because it has debts of nearly \$1bn and five years of losses amounting to Wons500bn. But Ssangyong officials claim there is little chance of Ssangyong Motor going bankrupt.

"People have been overreacting to our financial situation. Their assumption is that if the debts are large, then we must have a problem. But the Ssangyong group is financially strong and big enough to support Ssangyong Motor's debt," said Mr K.T. Chang, a Ssangyong executive vice-president who supervises the car project.

Despite poor market conditions, Ssangyong believes its new luxury car model, the Chairman, which is launched this autumn, will put it on the road to recovery. "Our investment programme has been largely completed with the introduction of the Chairman. From now on, we're going to make money as we recoup on our investments," said Mr Chang.

Analysts are more cautious about Ssangyong's prospects. "Given poor industry fundamentals and its weak market position, we expect Ssangyong Motor's losses to continue over the next few years," said a recent report by Dongbang Peregrine Securities in Seoul.

Investors see rosy future for red chip

China Everbright aims to transform itself from a holding company to a financial conglomerate



Bright prospects

	China Everbright HD Pacific	China Everbright Ent.	China Everbright Technology	BID Pacific Share price (HK\$)
Turnover	1.54bn	1.42bn	2.05bn	20
Operating profit	5.8	5.7	33.2	16
Net profit	1.74	1.73	1.6	10
EPS	1.74	1.73	1.6	10

Source: Datamonitor Company

bright, the conglomerate-building has been frantic. Last week's deal had been preceded by other forays into the financial sector, including a 20 per cent stake in the International Bank of Asia and a 5 per cent holding in National Mutual Asia, the insurer.

At the parent company level, China Everbright stunned the Hong Kong market last month with the HK\$1.139bn purchase of a 7.7 per cent stake in Hongkong Telecom, one of Hong Kong's biggest companies.

Few expect the pace to slacken. Mr Zhu, chairman, says: "The company's strategy is to become a broader red chip conglomerate with a focus on the financial sector. The company will consider other acquisition opportunities," he added.

Last week, rumours rippled around the Hong Kong stock market. Even Hong Kong Electric, the heavyweight blue chip, saw its share price rise 11 per cent on reports of an alliance with China Everbright.

That has implications beyond the returns for international investors, who have driven share prices to heady levels. For the rise of the red chips marks China's attempt to build conglomerates that can compete with Hong Kong's tycoons, providing funding and expertise for development on the mainland.

In the case of China Ever-

bright, the rumour was dismissed. Investment bankers say Mr Zhu's connections ensure further strategic acquisitions. He is a protege of Mr. Zhu Rongji, China's vice-premier in charge of the economy, and has worked at Xinhua, the state news agency, and the People's Bank of China, where he was deputy governor.

From China's perspective, China Everbright can be used as a safe pair of hands for sensitive stakes, as in the case of Hongkong Telecom. Its connections are also drawing foreign businesses that are seeking to expand on the mainland, such as National Mutual. "They have become a preferred partner, both here and across the border," says one US management consultant.

Funding for expansion is unlikely to be a problem. So far this year, China Everbright's Hong Kong subsidiary has raised about HK\$4bn through share issues, readily snapped up by investors. An unlisted arm of the group holding company is also raising more than US\$150m through a floating-rate note.

The enthusiasm of investors and banks might seem surprising, given the group's patchy track record of ill-timed investments in finance and property and its meagre profits. Even China Everbright IHD-Pacific, the most profitable of the group's three listed subsidiaries, still recorded a net result of just HK\$7.43m in the year to end of March last year.

Investors, however, are driven by potential earnings and expectations of asset injections. Mr Zhu's arrival at the end of last year, with his connections and a salvo of deals, reinforced this optimism. Whether that is justified will depend in part on the terms and the frequency of further asset injections.

Last week's announcement that Beijing's regulators would tighten controls over international company listings raised fears in this respect. But Mr Richard Lo,

head of China research at EIW Asia, points out that China Everbright's connections leave it well positioned to secure approvals. "Red chips with the best relations will benefit," he says.

But success will also depend on Mr Zhu's ability to manage his assortment of assets. The managing director of one Hong Kong investment bank comments: "With a few exceptions, such as Citic Pacific and China Resources, there is little to do with these companies beyond a list of ill-fitting business. Connections alone are not enough."

The history of China Everbright is a case in point. Its first head was Mr Liu Shaoli, the brother-in-law of China's former president. He was followed by a senior official from the People's Bank. Neither was able to deliver results or forge a coherent group.

As with Citic Pacific, Mr Zhu appears determined that China Everbright will emerge as more than a holding company. "We believe

China will be the largest capital market in the world in the next century and we want to seize the opportunity," he says, outlining plans for expansion in financial services.

To be closer to where the action is, the group has shifted the headquarters of its mainland financial operations from Beijing to Shanghai.

To help with a slice of that action, over the past year, China Everbright has hired senior officials from the China Securities Regulatory Commission in Beijing, the head of the Shenzhen branch of the Construction Bank of China and a senior securities official from Shanghai.

Mr Zhu believes the new bank is needed to shift the group from a holding company to a financial conglomerate. And that shift is necessary if Everbright is to sustain its ascent once the heady days of red chip fever have passed.

John Riddings



Mr Zhu Xiaohui, chairman, China Everbright

ASIA-PACIFIC NEWS DIGEST

Investment bank for Asia launched

A new pan-Asian investment bank was launched yesterday, backed by some of the region's most powerful businesses. Shareholders of KG Investments, which is based in Hong Kong, include the Koos Group of Taiwan and Nippon Life Insurance in Japan. Subject to regulatory approval, these will be joined by the Tong Yang Group of South Korea, the United Overseas Bank in Singapore, the Salim group of Indonesia, the Yuchengco Group of Companies in the Philippines, and the Bangkok Bank Public Company of Thailand.

The bank is pitched at what the backers see as a void in the market for an Asian-funded investment bank to service companies and high net worth individuals. So far there is only one fully fledged pan-Asian investment bank with similar credentials, Peregrine Investments, which was founded a decade ago.

Mr Paul Wong, a director of the new venture, said it was only now that a sufficiently large pool of professional labour was available in the region. The timing also reflected the stage of development of Asia's capital markets. "Markets throughout the region have developed to such an extent that there is a need for a regional investment bank to service the clients here," he said.

KG Investments will begin with three core areas: asset management, traditional brokerage and derivative structured products. Later it will add corporate finance, direct investment, equity financing and real estate investments. The group did not disclose the initial investment, but said it was sufficient to fund opportunities now on the table, and that the size of the backers meant more could easily be made available as future projects arose.

Louis Lucas, Hong Kong

Austrim bids for listed group

Mr Alan Jackson, the former head of BTR, the UK conglomerate, returned to the takeover scene yesterday when Austrim, the small Australian finance company that he chairs, made a A\$60m (US\$45m) bid for Hawker Richardson, the listed component supplier. The offer is pitched at A\$1.60 a share. Austrim said it intended to raise A\$42m to help fund the deal through a placement of 14m of its shares at A\$1 each. It already holds 3.6m shares in Hawker Richardson, or about 9.5 per cent of the company's equity.

Hawker told shareholders not to act until directors had considered the situation. Hawker makes ignition products and other components for the car industry, as well as other industrial components. Its shares surged 30 cents, to A\$1.65, on news of the offer.

Nikki Tait, Sydney

Thai Farmers warns on profits

Thai Farmers, the country's third-largest bank, warned that net profits this year would be lower than the Bt11.9bn (US\$475m) reported for last year. Mr Banthoon Lamson, president, blamed Thailand's economic slow-down for the fall, but declined to say how large the decline would be. The bank recorded a net profit of Bt12.65bn in the first quarter, down 11.7 per cent from Bt13bn a year previously. A consensus of analysts' forecasts puts net profits at Bt11.5bn this year, down 3.4 per cent from 1996.

Lending grew only 3.4 per cent in the first half, making it unlikely the bank would meet its full-year loans growth target of 10 per cent, it said. Thai Farmers said its non-performing loan ratio was likely to rise to 7.4 per cent of total loans at the end of 1997, up from 6.1 per cent at the end of last year. Analysts said commercial banks were caught in a dilemma between raising deposit rates to attract funds while cutting lending rates at the central bank's request to spur the economy.

APX-Asia, Bangkok

Hicom profits double

Hicom Holdings, the conglomerate that controls Malaysia's car industry, reported annual pre-tax profits more than doubled from M\$449.4m to M\$951.65m (US\$382.41m), thanks to strong advances at its Proton and Eon units. Group turnover rose from M\$3.58bn to M\$5.3bn. Proton and Eon reported profit increases of 126 per cent and 32.4 per cent, respectively. Proton recently signed a distribution agreement with Venustus of Russia, making Russia its 45th export market. Proton hopes for a 1 per cent share of the Russian market by 2001.

Asif Huda, Kuala Lumpur

European spin-offs help Dickson treble

By Louise Lucas in Hong Kong

Dickson Concepts, the Hong Kong retailer which owns Harvey Nichols of the UK, yesterday reported a trebling of net profits to HK\$1.35bn (US\$174m) for the year to March 31, boosted by the spin-off of two European operations.

Dickson, which posted net earnings of HK\$395.5m the previous year, made an exceptional gain last year of HK\$801.1m from the sale of S.T. Dupont, the French luxury goods group.

Stripping out the exceptional gains, earnings per share were up 14.3 per cent, from 145.5 HK cents to 165.3 HK cents.

The company also said it might revise its bid for

Disappointing maiden year at Harvey Nichols

Shares in Harvey Nichols slipped yesterday, as the London department store and restaurant group controlled by Dickson Concepts disappointed the market with trading figures less buoyant than expected, and annual profits about £1.65m (HK\$1.65m) below forecasts, writes Peggy Hollinger in London.

The group, reporting pre-tax profits of £12.14m for its first full year as a quoted company, said its flagship store in Knightsbridge, London, was returning sales growth of 3 per cent in the first 10 weeks of the current fiscal

In addition, Mr Poon said the group was at an advanced stage in negotiations on several other bids across the globe.

Dickson Concepts has expanded aggressively in recent years, turning round

shops that were putting in lacklustre performances. One of its latest purchases, the Japanese Seibu department store in Hong Kong, is expected to make a "meaningful" profit contribution this year.

In the new financial year, be said. Future growth would continue to come from expanding into other parts of the UK. Mr Morton said the group was close to clinching a third site, which would be announced in the next two months. The latest store is likely to be in Glasgow or Edinburgh in Scotland, or in Manchester in the north of England.

Sales for the year to March 28 were 27 per cent ahead at £114.2m. The group declared a final dividend of 3.9p, making a maiden total of 5.8p.

operations in China, which are now only just breaking even, according to analysts.

All subsidiaries around the world are operating profitably, and the group is confident of achieving double-digit profits growth during the current financial year," he said.

A final dividend of 6.8p a share is proposed, giving a payout for the year of 99 HK cents, up 20 per cent on the previous year.

• Lane Crawford, the department store company controlled by Wheelock, saw net profits almost double from HK\$16.4m to HK\$31.4m in the year to March 31, because of an HK\$28.9m net gain on the disposal of its first full year of operation, Mr Poon said.

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July 1997

cash problem

Financial Times Annual Report Panel Service

AEGON INSURANCE GROUP Decisive actions in a world of choice is the theme of AEGON's latest annual report. It has been many years since we have opted for a decentralized organization. Our major markets are The Netherlands, the United States, the United Kingdom, Hungary and Spain. Our emphasis stays on profitability, insurance and particularly life insurance and the related areas of pension and investment products remain our core business. Last year, these activities accounted for 77% of revenues and an even higher proportion of income. AEGON is one of the world's largest insurers. Net income 1996 totalled NLG 1,565 million (GBP 597 million) and revenues NLG 24,487 million (GBP 9,321 million).	BRITISH-BORNEO PETROLEUM SYNDICATE, PLC 1996 saw British-Borneo, the fast growing oil and gas exploration and production company, transform itself into one of the leading independents operating in the deep water province of the Gulf of Mexico, perhaps the most exciting exploration area in the world today. This year, the Company has embarked on its most ambitious exploration and appraisal drilling programme to date both in the Gulf of Mexico and in the UK North Sea.	THE CORPORATE SERVICES GROUP PLC The Corporate Services Group PLC is a leader in the field of contract labour, temporary labour, facilities management, training and the supply of healthcare professionals. The Group has an emphasis toward personnel with higher professional and vocational skills. Turnover for 1996 was £277 million - an increase of 10.7% on 1995 due to organic growth and strategic acquisitions, including Blue Arrow Holdings Ltd, a leading PLC supplier of doctors primarily to the NHS. A continued commitment to expansion and a substantial investment in its 2,500 employees will, it is predicted, ensure the Group achieves continued success into the new millennium.
MINORCO Think of a global natural resources group. Think of one with 23,000 employees, and a market capitalisation of US\$5 billion. Think of gold and base metals mines in North and South America and a major industrial minerals business in Europe. Think of important paper and packaging interests and a growing US agribusiness. Then think of the six major mining projects which will ensure this group's growth well into the next millennium. Think MINORCO.	RAMCO ENERGY PLC Ranoco Energy plc is an independent energy company focused on the E&P of oil and gas in the UK. The Company is the largest on AIM (London Exchange) at £50 million and became the first UK oil company to be listed on the American Stock Exchange in March 1997. Ranoco played a founding role in the formation of an international consortium of major oil companies (AIOC) which is developing the 5 billion barrel ACG Field in the Caspian Sea. Ranoco's 2.0825% interest in this project is carried by Pennzoil. First production is expected later this year. Ranoco is pursuing opportunities in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Russia and Azerbaijan and retains a successful oil services operation.	BMW BMW GROUP DEVELOPS DYNAMICALLY In 1996, deliveries of new BMW cars to customers increased by 24,000 to 644,100 units and thus achieved a new high. The BMW motorcycle business set a new record. With 507,000 units, deliveries of Rover Group vehicles had not been as high since 1993. The Company's dynamic character and innovative strength were shown by the new 3 Series BMW and the Z3 Roadster which for both models by far exceeded their original targets. With deliveries of more than 50,000 Z3s, the model has become the best-selling open-top car in the world-wide. With the new plant in the United States, BMW also became part of the North American car industry. At Rover Group, projects to prepare new models and improve the sales organisation in various foreign markets advanced according to schedule. The Group's income and financial position continues to be sound. Earnings power was strengthened.
CONTINENTAL AG The Continental Corporation is a leading international manufacturer of tires and industrial products made from rubber and plastics, and has been developing complete automotive systems with growing success since 1994. It is the leading manufacturer in Germany, second in Europe and fourth worldwide. Celebrating its 125th anniversary in 1996, Continental reported another rewarding year: sales advanced to DM 10.4 billion, and net income jumped 24% to DM 192.5 million, reflecting significant cost reduction and restructuring measures in recent years to build long-term profitability. The dividend increased from 10% to 12% (0.60 per DM 5 nominal share). The outlook for 1997 is for another significant increase in earnings.	HOECHST Hoechst is an international group of companies with more than 140,000 employees, spearheading innovation in Life Sciences and Industry. The 1996 sales amounted to DM 92.97 billion. Profit after taxes on income was DM 2.774 million, 24% more than in the previous year. Hoechst AG's dividend was increased by DM 0.10 to DM 1.40 per DM 5 share. In the first quarter of 1997, Group sales increased by 15% to DM 13.159 million. Profit before taxes on income of the Hoechst Group totalled DM 831 million, on a comparable basis, it is 9% higher than in the previous year. The 1996 annual report and the report on the 1st quarter of 1997 can be obtained via reference number 39.	HUGO BOSS The name HUGO BOSS represents an international, growth-oriented group of companies and one of the leading brands of men's clothing in the world. With its key brand HUGO BOSS, the unconventional HUGO Hugo Boss brand, and the BALDESSARINI Hugo Boss brand for the exacting customer. HUGO BOSS is a major contributor to the international fashion scene. Sales development at HUGO BOSS outpaced overall economic development. Group sales in the previous fiscal year increased 10.5% to 993.3 million DM, thereby further strengthening the company's market position. The net profit of the largest German men's clothing company increased by 31.2% to 76.1 million DM in 1996. The growth in sales was spearheaded by international business. Outside Germany, sales increased by 13.9% to 636.9 million DM.
KME KME Europa Metal AG (KME) is the world's largest processor of copper and copper alloy products. A member of Italy's SMI Group, the business was founded in 1995 as a result of the amalgamation of Europa Metalli in Italy, Trefimetalux in France, together with KM-Kabelmetal and its subsidiaries in Germany. KME's profits before tax rose by 19% for the year ended 31 December 1996, to DM 119 million, or a turnover of DM 3,804 million. KME is listed on the Frankfurt stock exchange. Following restructuring since 1995, KME has established a Europe-wide divisional management structure which is already producing significant financial benefits for the business. Further improvements are expected.	VEBA VEBA, the world's largest utility-based conglomerate, is active in the fields of Electricity, Chemicals, Oil, Trading/Transportation/Services and Telecommunications. Our decentralized management structure is designed to allow for fast and flexible response to global market opportunities as they arise, and our 1996 results underscore this approach. Approx. 4,000 employees worldwide achieved record DVFA/SG earnings of DM 2.5 billion (1995: DM 2.1 billion), earnings per share rose from DM 4.33 to DM 5.04, and the dividend was increased from DM 1.70 to DM 1.90. The further internationalization of VEBA is a major challenge we have targeted to enhance the value of our Company for all our shareholders the world over.	VEREINSBANK With total assets of over DM 403 billion, Vereinsbank ranks as Germany's fourth largest private bank. In 1996 operating profit after risk provision increased by +18.4% to DM 1,636 Mio. The main stimulus for this result was a healthy mortgage business, as evidenced by the growth in new mortgage loan commitments of +15.6%, or DM 43 billion. Growth in new commission income of 14%, coupled with level growth in administrative costs of 5.8% (9% in 1995), led to improved profitability for the group, as reflected in the increased ROE after tax of 8.6% (7.1% in 1995) and increased Earnings Per Share (DVFA) of DM 2.83 (DM 2.52 in 1995). Dividends paid to shareholders were DM 1.60 (DM 1.50 in 1995).

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COMPANIES AND FINANCE: UK

Former British Gas supply arm tackles onerous long-term agreements with North Sea producers

Centrica aims for contract settlements

By Jane Martinson

Centrica, the gas supply business demerged from British Gas, is aiming to settle almost a third of its onerous long-term gas supply contracts with North Sea producers within the next 12 months.

The group said yesterday it planned to renegotiate terms on "take or pay" contracts covering the purchase of some 25bn therms - out of a total of 88bn therms -

before the scheduled beginning of competition in the gas market next April. The contracts commit the company to buying gas it no longer needs at a price well above market rates.

Mr Roy Gardner, chief executive of Centrica, said the group was "working on six deals where we believe we can reach a conclusion in the next six to 12 months". He added that negotiations for "two or three" were "well advanced".

The group would not be drawn on which producers were involved in the negotiations.

Centrica's upbeat perspective on the issue appeared to be at odds with the view of some of the largest North Sea producers, which have denied any recent contact with the company.

Analysts said yesterday that any comprehensive solution would need to involve Shell and Esso, two of the largest producers with

which Centrica has outstanding contracts.

Since its demerger was announced at the end of last year, Centrica has renegotiated contracts with two of its largest suppliers - BP and Mobil. Mr Gardner said yesterday that the group wanted to "do at least one more Mobil" before the end of 1997.

British Gas made a £341m (£562.65m) charge to cover the cost of renegotiating a take-or-pay gas contract with

Mobil. One analyst said yesterday that a renegotiation of some 25bn therms could cost a further £275m, on the basis of Centrica's own estimates of gas prices for 1996. However, because the charge will take effect over a number of years any balance sheet impact will be significantly less than this figure.

Centrica also said yesterday that it was ready to take part in the electricity market when it is liberalised next April. Just three regional

electricity companies have so far been identified by the industry regulator as ready for competition. Centrica aims to compete nationwide. It shares rose 24p to 714p yesterday, bucking the market trend, and after a strong performance on Friday. Shares in Centrica have underperformed the market since its demerger chiefly because of the uncertainties over take-or-pay contracts and the onset of competition in the domestic market.

WH Smith loses chief executive to BT

By Peggy Hollinger, Alan Cane and Christopher Price

WH Smith shares fell to a two-year low yesterday as the high street retailer announced the surprise departure of its chief executive, Mr Bill Cockburn, after only 18 months in the post.

Mr Cockburn, who joined with a brief to revitalise the chain of WH Smith stores in the face of aggressive competition from specialist retailers and supermarkets, is to become group managing director at British Telecommunications.

His abrupt departure has sparked concern about the potential for recovery at WH Smith among investors and analysts. The group, which in addition to the high street chain owns Waterstones, Virgin Our Price and a news wholesaling business, last year recorded its first loss in more than 20 years.

"The timing is immaculate," said Mr Sean Eddie, retail analyst with NatWest Markets. "The cost reduc-

tions he has implemented are beginning to run out and the sales line is refusing to move forward... it is the end of the recovery."

"The timing is unfortunate," added one institutional investor. "WH Smith is going through a process of change and that process is at an important stage."

Its shares, which have underperformed the retail sector by some 20 per cent since Mr Cockburn joined in January last year, tumbled 35p to close at 376p, their lowest since October 1996.

However, Mr Jeremy Hardin, chairman, insisted there were "no dirty secrets" behind the departure. "Bill is going for a knock-out job. He would not be leaving if there were anything amiss."

Mr Cockburn said he had been approached out of the blue by Sir Peter Bonfield, BT chief executive, with the "offer of a lifetime".

He, too, insisted that his departure should not affect investors' views of recovery potential at WH Smith.

"When you see the results they will represent a further big step in the right direction." However, he admitted the revival of the core retail business was far from complete. "We said from the outset it would take a number of years to come through."

Mr Hardin said he was aware that investors were concerned about the implications of Mr Cockburn's departure. To mitigate fears, the group said it expected pre-tax profits for 1996-97 to meet expectations of between £124m and £130m.

Analysts said that while there were strong internal candidates for the post - such as Mr Keith Hamill, finance director - investors would prefer to see a retailer take on the job.

British Telecommunications, whose plans to merge with MCI of the US are at an advanced stage, said it was delighted that Mr Cockburn was joining the company but refused to confirm the job would still be available if the merger failed.



Bill Cockburn: "would not be leaving if there were anything amiss"

WMI sells bulk of French side

By Jane Martinson

Waste Management International, the US-controlled waste disposal company, has sold the bulk of its French operations for a total of FF165.3m (\$11.9m) as part of retrenchment in continental Europe.

Sita bought WMI's French operations, which serve municipal, industrial and commercial clients, for FF270m in cash.

The company, a subsidiary of Lyonnaise des Eaux, the French utilities group, is set to pay a further FF45m within three years and FF326.3m in promissory notes. It will also take on inter-company debt of FF326.3m.

Mr Peter Dassing, WMI finance director, said the company had decided that it was too small to compete in France, which is dominated by larger groups.

He said the net impact on WMI's finances would be neutral. The group revalued its assets last year as part of a review which led to its decision to pull out of

Departure at Standard Life

By Christopher Brown-Hurnes and William Lewis

France, Austria and Spain.

About half of an exceptional fourth-quarter charge of £127.7m related to the company's French assets, said Mr Dassing.

WMI is now the only separately traded subsidiary of Waste Management, the US group which holds an 80 per cent stake in the UK-based company.

Speculation has mounted about the parent group's plans for WMI. But Mr Dassing said yesterday that indications from reports last week were that the group had indefinitely postponed thinking about it.

"At this point we assume they are going to keep it," he added.

At the end of last year, the net value of the assets sold yesterday were FF129.1m. The operations reported pre-tax profits of FF12.6m on sales of FF327m in the period.

WMI will retain a 50 per cent holding in Auxiwaite Services, which operates a materials recovery and fibre fuel plant in central France.

about splitting off all, or part, of its fund management division into a stand-alone company.

Mr Thomson, 47, is expected to leave by July 15, after completing the handover to his successor, who has yet to be appointed. Standard Life said he was on one month's notice and would receive no compensation.

Mr Sandy Crombie, chief investment manager, said the departure was linked to "differences over management issues rather than over strategies or objectives".

Standard Life has £52bn (\$85.5bn) under management and owns shares equivalent

to about 2.2 per cent of the UK stock market. It has been placing more emphasis on managing funds on behalf of third parties, although this business only accounts for £3bn of total managed funds.

Mr Crombie said: "We have made quite clear what we are going to build fund management to compete with dedicated fund management companies" such as Mercury Asset Management and Schroder Investment Management.

Some senior Standard Life executives want to see the establishment of a fund management subsidiary which would be run on an arms-length basis. "Some of us think it improve performance, incentives and help bring in more third party business," one said.

Consultants said yesterday that most life companies were examining whether to set up stand-alone fund management arms. Scottish Amicable recently taken over by the Prudential, already has one.

However, disagreement about setting up a stand-alone business is thought to be only one of the reasons for Mr Thomson's departure.

Mr Thomson, who joined Standard Life in 1982, was unavailable for comment.

	Turnover (£m)	Pre-tax profit (£m)	EPS (p)	Current payment (p)	Date of payment	Dividends corresponding dividend	Total for year	Total last year
Adams Printing ♦	Yr to Apr 30	115.9 (70.1)	103.9 (7.76)	69.35 (53.38)	4.479	Aug 7	2.958	7.386 5.05
AEA Technology	Yr to Mar 31	264.5 (223.3)	18.56 (15.86)	15.5 (12.8)	5.85	Oct 1	-	8.4
Aldex	Yr to Mar 30	10.5 (10.5)	7.06 (7.06)	7.011 (7.01)	4.78	June 30	4.15	7.5 6.85
Amey	Yr to Mar 31	114.2 (114.2)	12.1 (12.1)	12.1 (12.1)	3.3	Aug 27	-	5.5 -
Amico Systems ♦	Yr to Mar 31	16.4 (13.2)	0.579 (0.579)	0.579 (0.579)	7.2 (7.2)	-	-	-
Amoco	6 mths to Mar 31	1,011 (1,033)	21.4 (20.4)	0.3 (4)	2.25	Oct 1	2.25	1 5.25
TBL	Yr to Mar 31	65.6 (65.6)	23.4 (19.9)	4.221 (3.57)	1.5	Oct 1	1	1.5 1
Wesco ♦	Yr to Mar 31	12.7 (11.8)	1.034 (1.022)	0.5 (0.45)	0.06	Aug 1	-	0.1 0.09
Whitcroft	Yr to Mar 31	145 (143.3)	3.324 (3.08)	5.3 (4.1)	3.25	Aug 11	3.25	5 5
Yorkshire Food	Yr to Dec 31	159.8 (174.4)	26.32 (26.3)	55.31 (10.47)	n/a	3	0.88	3.68

Investment Trusts

YTD (6 mths to Apr 30) 245.5 (231) 4.1 (4.8) 2.65 (2.96) 1.25+ Aug 30 1.13 - 4.86

Dividends shown basic. Dividends shown net. Figures in brackets are for corresponding period. British currency. *After exceptional charge. **After exceptional credit. #After increase in capital. Old stock +/- cuts include foreign income dividend elements. \$Second interim; index 2.50 to date.

£Second interim in lieu of final. 10% increased capital. Old stock +/- cuts include foreign income dividend elements. \$Second interim; index 2.50 to date.

fortis AMEV

Payment of dividend for 1996

On 29 May 1997, we announced that the final dividend for 1995 was NLG 1.22 per share and would be paid, at the shareholder's discretion, either in its entirety in cash or in its entirety in shares (or depositary receipts for shares).

The number of dividend rights entitling shareholders to one new share (or depositary receipts for shares) is based on the closing rate of the depositary receipts for shares in Fortis AMEV on the AEX Stock Exchange on 18 June 1997.

We are now able to inform you that 69 dividend rights entitle shareholders to one new share (or depositary receipt for shares).

Delivery of the shares (or depositary receipts for shares) distributed under the dividend with stock option will commence today. The cash dividend has been available for payment since 6 June 1997.

Holders of registered shares will be notified on an individual basis.

Utrecht, 19 June 1997

Fortis AMEV nv
Archimedeslaan 6
3584 BA Utrecht
The Netherlands

On behalf of the Executive Board

J.M. Bartelds
Chairman

for
J.M. Bartelds
Chairman
On behalf of the Executive Board

LEX COMMENT

WH Smith

What sort of future does

WH Smith

have relative to the

FTSE General Retailers Index

Source: Datastream

1994 95 96 97

Source: Datastream

It requires an imaginative retail solution which others are probably better-placed to deliver. It is a tall order.

Certainly, comparisons with Boots look extremely optimistic: the capacity to develop

high-margin, own-brand products in books, magazines and records is virtually non-existent.

Meanwhile, supermarkets continue to snipe away WH Smith to all these areas.

And Mr Cockburn's response - broadening the product range - looks misconceived.

The way to compete is through differentiation and superiority of offer, which requires more, not less, space devoted to core products.

Anyway, WH Smith's problem is not a shortage of visitors, but a shortfall in their spending. Selling ice-creams is hardly the answer.

At a 20 per cent discount to the market, the shares look

cheap - but likely to stay that way. Bid talk is inevitable,

but the risks and complexity of the group are likely to deter most suitors.

More probably, shareholders will have to rely on Smith's own efforts to rescue the share price.

They will need to be patient.

Compass makes FFr2.2bn acquisition

By Scheherazade

Daneschuk

Compass, the acquisition-led

contract catering group, yes-

terday consolidated its posi-

tion in the French food ser-

vice market after GDR and So-

dexhoft took a stake from 12 per cent to 19 per cent.

July 1997

Financial Times Annual Report Panel Service

<p>BCE INC.</p> <p>BCE is Canada's largest telecommunications company. The BCE Group includes: Bell Canada, the principal supplier of communications services in Ontario and Quebec; NorTel, a global leader in the design and building of telecommunications networks; Bell Canada International, with investments in the US, the UK, Asia and Latin America; BCE Mobile, a provider of wireless services in Ontario and Quebec under the Bell Mobility banner; and Tele-Direct, a Yellow Pages® directory publisher operating in Canada and internationally. BCE's shares are traded in Canada, the United States and in Europe.</p>	<p>CAE INC.</p> <p>CAE Inc., an advanced technology company, is a world leader in the design and manufacture of flight simulation equipment, visual simulation systems, control systems, and a range of precision engineered industrial technologies. The company's consistent commitment to R&D is enabling it to develop and deliver new and enhanced products and services to meet strengthening demand. CAE begins fiscal 1998 well positioned to capitalize on a growing market for flight simulation equipment, and is in a strong financial position to continue the execution of its growth strategies. Headquartered in Toronto, shares are listed on the Toronto and Montreal Stock Exchanges under "CAE".</p>	<p>CANADIAN OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM LTD.</p> <p>CanadianOxy is a successful energy and chemical company with shares listed on The Toronto Stock Exchange, the Montreal Exchange and the American Stock Exchange. Our mandate is to consistently add shareholder value. We regularly add value by fully exploiting our existing assets and developing new production from low risk exploration and acquisitions. We also pursue a program of high impact exploration which we expect will provide superior growth and returns over the longer term.</p>	<p>CHIEFTAIN INTERNATIONAL, INC.</p> <p>Chieftain International, Inc., an exploration and development company, reported record growth in 1996. Gas production doubled and cash flow tripled to US\$51.8 million (C\$57.3 million). Reserve additions replaced 131% of production. Chieftain is debt-free and had working capital of US\$47.7 million (C\$66.0 million) at March 31, 1997. Activities are focused on natural gas in the U.S. Gulf of Mexico where the Company has assembled 138 blocks of offshore leases. Chieftain is listed on the American Stock Exchange and The Toronto Stock Exchange under the symbol CID.</p>
<p>CHINA CLIPPER GOLD MINES LTD.</p> <p>China Clipper Gold Mines (CXX:ASE) has significant Chinese production exploration potential. Clipper will produce gold from both Tongguan and Nancha projects before the end of the year. Exit 1998 production estimated at 60,000 oz. Clipper has 17 other exploration properties in Eastern China close to significant infrastructure. Reserve information as well as more detailed production estimates are expected by the end of June. Current cash balance stands at \$2.1 million. Web site at http://www.goldcorner.com</p>	<p>DOMINION RESOURCES, INC.</p> <p>Dominion Resources, Inc. is a holding company active in regulated and unregulated electric power, natural gas development, financial services and real estate. From its headquarters in Richmond, Virginia, our company oversees operations in the United States, Great Britain, and Latin America. We pursue our businesses through four subsidiaries that have \$18 billion in assets and more than 15,000 employees. Dominion Resources trades on the New York Stock Exchange under the symbol "D" and has more than 350,000 shareholders.</p> <p>Internet: http://www.domsres.com</p>	<p>ELDORADO GOLD CORPORATION</p> <p>Eldorado Gold Corporation is an international gold mining company based in Vancouver, Canada, whose shares trade on The Toronto Stock Exchange under the symbol "ELD". Eldorado operates five gold mines, the La Colorada and La Trinidad in Mexico, São Benito in Brazil, Bogou in Ghana and Fairview/ETC in South Africa. The Company also has an 18% interest in Croesus Mining NL which operates the Bindubi Mine in Western Australia, and gold projects in Argentina, Brazil, Ghana, Mexico, Turkey, South Africa and other countries worldwide.</p>	<p>NORFOLK SOUTHERN</p> <p>Norfolk Southern Corp. is a Virginia-based holding company owning and controlling a freight railroad, Norfolk Southern Railway Co., a motor carrier, and a natural resources company. Norfolk Southern's vision is to be the safest, most customer-focused and successful transportation company in the world. In 1996, Norfolk Southern had another record-breaking year, with earnings per share up 12%, net income up 8%, income from rail operations up 11%, and dividends up 8%. The operating ratio was 71.6%, and the return on average stockholders' equity was 15.7%.</p>
<p>PHILIP MORRIS COMPANIES INC.</p> <p>Philip Morris Companies Inc. (NYSE: MO) is the world's largest producer and marketer of consumer packaged goods, with major tobacco, food and beer businesses generating more than \$69 billion in 1996 sales. The company's products are sold in nearly 200 markets around the world. Among them are 68 brands that exceeded \$100 million in 1996 sales, including twelve - Marlboro, Kraft, Miller, Jacobs, Oscar Mayer, Maxwell House, L&M, Post, Merit, Milka, Philip Morris and Virginia Slims - that topped \$1 billion.</p>	<p>ROMARCO MINERALS INC.</p> <p>Romarco Minerals (TSE: R) is a Canadian company specializing in gold exploration in the major gold producing trends in Nevada, U.S.A. The State of Nevada is the third largest gold producer in the world. Romarco's last drill hole in 1996 was RM-38c on the Midas Property which returned 87 feet of 0.76 g/t gold per ton gold, and 111 ounces per ton silver. The Midas Project is adjacent to the famous Pan American Gold Group's discovery (3 million ounces of gold equivalent). Romarco encountered significant mineralization on three of its other properties, namely the Converse, Ren and Cimarron. Romarco has joint ventures with Newman Gold, Urarzu USA and Homestake Mining Company. Romarco is well funded and will be carrying out drilling projects on eleven properties in 1997.</p> <p>Tele: (416) 214-1900 Fax: (416) 214-0700 Web Site: http://www.romarco.com</p>	<p>SONOCO PRODUCTS COMPANY</p> <p>Sonoco is Global Packaging, headquartered in the United States, has nearly 300 operations on five continents serving customers in more than 85 countries. While nearly 80% of the Company's revenue and earnings are derived from the U.S. operations, Sonoco's global growth is an investment in the future. Sonoco is a \$2.8 billion growth oriented, global leader in the packaging industry with a 97-year record of compound annual sales growth of 11.5%. The company's earnings growth in 1996 was 12.5%. The report discusses the Company's record 1996 performance and details the company's strategy for achieving Vision 2000, the company's plan for doubling 1993's earnings to \$520 million. Sonoco's product line is approximately 44% consumer packaging and 56% industrial packaging with strong vertical integration in the paper packaging businesses.</p>	<p>SR TELECOM INC.</p> <p>SR Telecom Inc. (SRT) was founded in 1981 and became a public Company in 1986. SRT is a world-leader in fixed wireless point-to-multipoint TDMA microwave radio systems and wireless loop systems. SRT designs, manufactures, markets, installs and services these systems which are used in both public and private telephone and data networks in some 80 countries. SRT shares are traded on the Montreal and Toronto Stock Exchanges under the symbol SRX.</p>
<p>LIPPO BANK</p> <p>Lippo Bank, established in 1948, is one of Indonesia's leading commercial banks with a network of 304 offices in 104 cities throughout Indonesia. As part of the Lippo Group of companies, it has branches, representative offices, subsidiaries and affiliates spanning the entire Asia-Pacific region - Hong Kong, China, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Australia and California - and joint venture alliances in Indonesia with eminent banking names such as Banque Nationale de Paris, Tokai Bank, Daiwa Bank, Bankers Trust and GMAC.</p>	<p>OVERSEAS UNION BANK</p> <p>Overseas Union Bank (OUB) is a premier consumer bank in Singapore and a leading regional bank. With an international network of 74 offices in 16 countries, it is distinguished both as the only Singapore Bank Group with representation in all ASEAN countries, and the best represented ASEAN bank in East Asia. As the fourth largest local bank in Singapore, OUB has recorded the highest percentage profit growth among the Big Four local banks in the last five years. It offers a full range of services in consumer and corporate banking, corporate finance, treasury, international banking and investment banking. The Group's shareholders' funds stand at \$33.19 billion and total assets amount to \$337.26 billion (as at 31 December 1996).</p>	<p>STATOIL</p> <p>Statoil is an international oil company with operations in 25 countries. An operating profit of NOK 18.2 billion in 1996 was the best in the group's 25-year history. In the same year revenues topped NOK 100 billion for the first time to reach NOK 107 billion. Statoil ranks as the largest oil producer on the Norwegian continental shelf, at 464,000 barrels per day in 1996. Outside Norway, the group increased its oil and gas production from 12,000 barrels of oil equivalents in 1995 to 30,000 barrels. It currently pursues exploration and production operations in 15 countries. Statoil had roughly 15,000 employees at the end of 1996.</p> <p>Internet: http://www.statolit.com</p>	<p>VA TECHNOLOGIE AG</p> <p>VA Technologie AG is active in Metallurgical Engineering, Energy and Environmental Engineering, Plant Engineering and Services on a global basis, with 200 international units in all regions of the world. The Group is a technology-based systems supplier with core component competencies and services. 56.95% of its shares are floated on the Vienna Stock Exchange. VA Technologie is quoted in London via SEAO. Compared to the year 1995, the main figures are as follows: Profit from ordinary activities rose by 32%; Net profit up 5%; Order backlog up 21%. Order intake grew by 36% - Cash flow from the result up 21%. During 1997 VA TECH will continue on its adopted growth course in business volume and earnings.</p>

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INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS

Hopes for broad Emu bolster Italy

GOVERNMENT BONDS

By Edward Luce in London and John Labate
In New York

Italian government bonds continued their recent upswing yesterday, buoyed by the release of data showing subdued inflation, and hopes of a cut in interest rates. Markets in the rest of Europe and the US lacked direction, with low turnover in most benchmark contracts.

The consumer price index figures for leading Italian cities showed inflation in June dropping by 0.1 per cent to 1.5 per cent – an unprecedented low.

Analysts, however, said that continued expectations of a broad Emu spawning a “soft” euro were behind the

continued rally in BTPs. Spreads on Italian cash bonds tightened through the 120 basis points (over bonds) barrier for the first time yesterday morning before widening again to a spread of 122 basis points.

“It is anybody’s guess what the Bank of Italy is thinking,” Mr Jessop said. The contract on 10-year BTPs rose by 0.15 points to close at 133.46 on Friday.

SPANISH BONOS also rose, although the spread on cash bonds continued to widen over bonds after the rally in the last fortnight. Speculation that the Bank of Spain would also cut repo rates by 0.25 per cent at the monetary policy meeting today has diminished since the release of strong Spanish wage growth figures in the first quarter.

With rates well below Italy’s and mixed signals from macroeconomic data, most forecasters expect them to be left unchanged. The contract on September bond futures closed 0.7 up at 116.40 in Barcelona.

Commentators were divided on whether Italy would cut repo rates from the steep 6.75 per cent prevailing rate. The market has been surprised at the Bank of Italy’s reluctance to ease the high interest rate burden to help ease the government’s hefty debt interest bill.

Swedish housing group raises \$500m

INTERNATIONAL BONDS

By Andrew Taylor
and Edward Luce

The subbond market paused for breath yesterday after last week’s mad rush. Less than \$2bn was raised from a small number of issues – and the market appears to be suffering from indigestion following the large number of recent long-dated dollar issues.

The biggest offering yesterday was a five-year \$500m issue by SHBIFC, the Swedish National Housing Finance Corporation, owned by the Swedish government and the country’s third largest mortgage bank.

The issue, priced at par and re-offered to yield flat to the London interbank

offered rate, was regarded as over ambitious in spite of its AA/A1 credit ratings. The bond widened to Libor plus 3 basis points in secondary trading.

Investors have an option to sell the bonds back at par should the Swedish government decide to reduce its stake below 51 per cent.

Nikko and SBC Warburg yesterday led a two-year £125m sterling bond for the WORLD BANK at 5 basis point above three-year gilts. The lead managers said the recent spate of dollar bonds had left room for a good quality issue in sterling.

They said they expected the issue to be attractive to European bank investors but that the fine pricing was less likely to appeal to retail investors.

WORLD BOND PRICES

BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT BONDS

	Red	Def.	Price	Day's	Change	Yield	Week ago	Month ago
Austria	10/07	121.7470	+0.15%	7.00	0.98	7.77		
Austria	2/07	94.007	-0.05%	7.00	0.00	7.70		
Belgium	2/07	102.0200	-0.15%	5.95	0.77	5.78		
Canada	7/25	100.6000	+0.00%	6.08	0.16	6.54		
Denmark	7/00	104.4500	-0.05%	6.39	0.16	6.24		
France	BTAN -4.75%	03/02	100.4800	-0.05%	4.83	4.58	4.60	
OAT	5/200	04/07	98.2000	-0.15%	5.66	5.56	5.54	
Germany	Bund	10/07	102.0000	-0.05%	5.95	5.85	5.84	
Ireland	8/00	98.2000	-0.05%	5.95	0.54	5.53		
Italy	8/20	98.3700	+1.16%	6.84	0.94	7.10		
Japan	No 145	5/200	116.7520	-1.68	1.81	1.82		
No 182	3/00	94/07	104.1967	-0.08%	2.38	2.38	2.54	
Netherlands	7/20	02/07	101.0000	-0.06%	5.61	5.55	5.56	
Portugal	8/20	120.8000	-0.04%	6.28	6.22	6.36		
Spain	8/00	106.9574	-0.16%	6.73	6.76	6.94		
UK Gilt	7/00	06/02	99-15	-0.92%	7.13	6.90	6.85	
US Treasury	7/25	12/07	100-18	-10/32	7.17	7.02	6.95	
8/00	10/07	113-18	-10/32	7.22	7.08	7.01		
ECU French Corp	7/25	02/07	98-17	+1/32	6.38	6.38	6.54	
London clearing	“New York”	7/25	107.0000	-0.05%	5.94	5.84	5.85	
* Yields (including withholding tax at 12.5 per cent payable by non-resident)								
** Yields (including withholding tax at 12.5 per cent payable by non-resident)								
Source: Standard & Poor’s MMS.								

Yields (including withholding tax at 12.5 per cent payable by non-resident)

Source: Standard & Poor’s MMS.

III BUND FUTURES OPTIONS (LIFFE) DM250,000 points of 100%

Strike	Set Price	Change	High	Low	Est. Vol.	Open Int.
Sep 133.40	133.40	+0.15	133.56	132.97	51365	92594
Dec 106.11	106.11	+0.20	106.26	105.96	1	270

Ext. vol. total, Calls 12212 Puts 12336. Previous day's open int., Calls 10802 Puts 21082

Price 100, non-callable unless stated. Yield spread (over relevant government bond) at launch supplied by lead manager. & Floating rate note. * P: Fixed re-offer price; fees shown at no-refer level, at 3mth Libor less. b) 3mth Libor +12.5bp. t) Over-interpolated yield. # Long 1st coupon. a) Short 1st coupon.

points over BTPs. An official said borrowing costs, expressed in dollars, were less expensive in France than other countries while the French had proved stable investors.

BENETTON gave retail investors something to chew over with its first ever eurobond. The £500m offering was priced to yield 12.5 basis

bond this year by a Japanese organisation, said IBJ. It said borrowing costs, expressed in dollars, were less expensive in France than other countries while the French had proved stable investors.

The City of TOKYO announced its first French franc issue: FF1.7bn of 10-year bonds. Lead manager IBJ re-offered the issue at 12 basis points above the comparable OAT.

It was only the third

Frech franc-denominated

deficit-cutting plans. Economists said there were little economic data due in either Germany or France to move the markets before their mini-budgets later in the summer.

OAT futures closed up 0.6 at 128.68 in Paris while GERMAN BUND futures dropped 0.4 to close at 101.32 in London.

US TREASURIES were little changed in subdued morning trading. The 30-year bond fell 1/4 to 95 1/2, yielding 6.68 per cent. The 10-year bond fell 1/4 to 101.32, to yield 6.374 per cent, while two-year bonds fell 1/4 to 100 1/2, yielding 6.005 per cent.

“A fiscally tight budget and a weak pound would probably encourage another rally in gilts and tempt some Japanese funds back into sterling,” said Ms Alison Cottrell, international economist at PaineWebber in London. Gilt futures closed up 0.6 at 128.68 in Paris while GERMAN BUND futures dropped 0.4 to close at 101.32 in London.

“A fiscal deficit would signal a need to tighten,” said Mr Dyer. A trend upward could signal tighter labour markets and the possibility of higher wage inflation to come.

Some morning selling was due to the market’s anticipation of two new Treasury issues this week. On Tuesday \$15.5bn of two-year notes will be issued and on Wednesday \$11.5bn of five-year notes will hit the market.

Credit Suisse First Boston.

Data releases this week

will focus on consumer sentiment when the Conference Board releases its monthly consumer confidence figures today and the University of Michigan publishes its own findings on Friday.

The “jobs plentiful” outlook within the Conference Board’s figures could be especially helpful to analysts, said Mr Dyer. A trend upward could signal tighter labour markets and the possibility of higher wage inflation to come.

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COMMODITIES AND AGRICULTURE

Call for abolition of EU aluminium tariff

By Kenneth Gooding,
Mining Correspondent

Aluminium consumers in the European Union paid an extra US\$47m for the metal in 1995 because of a 6 per cent tariff on imported primary aluminium, Mr Jean-Pierre Ergas, executive vice-president of Alcan Aluminium of Canada, said yesterday. But \$205m was retained by European producers and only \$165m was actually paid as duty.

The situation arose because the EU had only one commercial price for aluminium, which was charged regardless of origin and whether duty was paid on it, he pointed out. In 1995, this resulted in EU aluminium producers collecting an extra

There would be no "instant bonanza" for aluminium from carmakers, conference delegates were warned by Mr Henk Vriens, board member at Hoogovens of the Netherlands, Kenneth Gooding writes.

"Don't think that the car will soon be to the aluminium industry what the beverage can was in the 1970s and 1980s. Steel has decided

to fight back and not give up the battle for the can, so why would it give up the battle for the car?"

Mr Vriens said high volume, fuel-efficient cars of the near future would contain substantial quantities of steel and plastic, but with a much higher aluminium content.

Mr Pete Peterson, director at US steel group USX Corporation, said

\$33 a tonne compared with the global price, Mr Ergas told delegates at the annual aluminium conference organised by the Financial Times and the CRU International consultancy.

Analysts estimated that, if

Mr Ergas's calculations were

accurate, Pechiney of France, Europe's biggest producer, benefited by more than \$50m from the "duty bonus" and VAW Aluminium of Germany collected nearly as much.

Mr Ergas called for the abolition of the tariff which

is described as "illogical, discriminatory and something that distorts trade".

He said later he hoped the EU would remove the tariff unilaterally, rather than wait for the next round of World Trade Organisation negotiations.

The aluminium solution to cutting the weight of cars only made economic sense if there was no other means of doing so, but the steel industry had its Ulseab (ultra-light steel auto body) project.

In spite of the "hype" about the higher scrap value of aluminium compared with steel, a car was not a

can which could be immediately recycled. The average life of a North American car was 12 years. If all 15m cars made each year in North America were all Ulseab, they would cost an extra \$780 to \$870. "We are talking about investing, in North America alone, somewhere between \$2bn and \$13bn annually in what are essentially non-producing assets."

British Aluminium, the biggest UK aluminium fabricating group, and Rio Tinto, the Anglo-Australian group. Rio Tinto said last night it was against tariffs of any sort but it was not involved in approaches to the UK government about aluminium.

China needed to import between 200,000 and 300,000 tonnes of aluminium this year if it was to meet demand, Mr Philippe Thaure, president of Alumax International, told the conference. If demand grew as widely as expected, China's aluminium import requirements would increase to an annual 500,000-tonnes.

The total would depend on expansion of domestic smelting capacity, but China was likely to reserve its electrical energy for other industries.

China's government might also curtail aluminium demand, as it did when it banned production of aluminium cans for a year, "but it is becoming more difficult for the government to do things like that".

Further delay to Eramet meeting

By Andrew Jack in Paris

Eramet, the metals group controlled by the French government, has gained a reprieve with news that its annual general meeting has been postponed again.

The move gives the newly-elected Socialist government time to reconsider the line taken in the dispute over mining rights in New Caledonia by the previous Gaullist administration.

Eramet said yesterday its board meeting had been delayed until mid-July, and the AGM would follow at the end of the month.

Institutional investors and independent directors had expressed concern following pressure by the government, which controls the group through a 55 per cent stake in its holding company Erap, to force Mr Yves Rambaud, chairman, to resign.

Fidelity and Templeton, two of Eramet's largest minority shareholders with about 5 per cent each, had both threatened to boycott future French privatisations in the wake of the crisis at the company, which was partially sold in 1994.

The dispute with the state concerned proposals to strip Eramet of its nickel concession in New Caledonia, to comply with demands from nationalist groups.

Erap had already lined up Mr Thierry Chambolle, deputy managing director of Lyonnaise des Eaux, to take over from Mr Rambaud.

However, pressure from employees and minority shareholders caused it to delay the AGM, at which the change would have taken place, until after the general election.

The meeting had been scheduled for today, but a number of directors had threatened to resign if Mr Rambaud's mandate was not renewed.

US sugar deal under threat

By Heather Bourreau

US sugar producers' sweet deal may soon end with the passage of a bill designed to phase out the sugar programme over five years.

Mr Dan Miller, a Florida Republican senator, and his Democrat colleague, Mr Charles Schumer of New York, have introduced a bill to end the combination of price supports, loans and import restrictions, which cost US consumers an estimated \$1.4m a year.

The US price for raw sugar is 21 cents a pound, nearly double the world price. This year's bill would reduce loans to growers by 4 cents a pound, require them to repay their loans with money not sugar, and force producers to abide by the 1986 Freedom to Farm Act.

Last year, Mr Miller and Mr Schumer introduced similar legislation, tying it to the controversial farm bill, only to see it defeated by five votes.

The Freedom to Farm Act was designed to help the US agriculture industry in its transition to a free market.



Harvest: US sugar is nearly double the world price

has been blamed for ecological damage in Florida. Some scientists claim the increase in production over the past 30 years has led to phosphate and pesticide run-offs that threaten water in the region.

However, sugar industry support may again threaten passage of the bill. Many members of Congress receive campaign contributions from sugar producers. Those who voted against the 1996 bill received an average of \$5,994 in campaign funds from sugar producers, while those who voted for the bill received only \$380 on average, according to a study published by the Center for Responsive Politics.

The General Accounting Office, an arm of Congress, estimates that 1 per cent of sugar cane plantations receive nearly 60 per cent of all price supports.

However, the companies are determined to keep their advantage. They have begun counter-attacks, arguing that US production and jobs would disappear if the Miller-Schumer bill were to become law.

Along with higher sugar prices, the sugar programme

Oil prices rise on spat between UN and Iraq

MARKETS REPORT

By Robert Corzine and Gary Mead in London and Laurie Morse in Chicago

Oil prices made modest gains yesterday as markets reacted to the latest spat between Iraq and the UN Security Council. The bellwether Brent Blend for August delivery was quoted at about \$17.77 a barrel in late afternoon trading in London, 14 cents up on last Friday's close.

The decision by the Security Council at the weekend to censure Iraq over its treatment of UN arms inspectors caused some concern in the market, which is already wondering when Iraq will begin exporting under the renewed oil for food plan.

The price of gold wobbled in London, the morning "fix" of \$366.55 an ounce touching its lowest point since February 12, when it bottomed out at \$336.90, itself a four-year low. However, the afternoon "fix" saw it recover to \$338,

just 20 cents below Friday's closing price, amid reports of some physical buying.

Gold is suffering from the effects of the strong dollar, which was bolstered over the weekend by the G7 conference of leading industrialised nations.

Zinc continued its rally on the London Metal Exchange, with the three-month price achieving a 6% year high, closing at \$1,408.50 a tonne, up 39.50 from Friday's close.

Analysts say the metal's rally is being fuelled by speculators seeking to capitalise on a healthy global economy by betting on a base metal with low producer and consumer stocks.

Copper ended the day down \$50 a tonne at \$2,511, having rallied during the day from a low of \$2,486.

Newly elected South Korean finance ministry would begin an investigation of futures trading on the LME by South Korean brokers who were shrugged off by traders as having no potential bearing on prices.

Cocoa attracted buyers, touching an eight-year peak on the Coffee, Sugar and Cocoa Exchange in New York. By midday the September contract on the CSCE was trading \$37 higher than the previous future closed \$20 up, at \$1,131.

Grain and soybean futures on the Chicago Board of Trade were under pressure in early trading after warm temperatures and beneficial rains boosted the condition of newly planted crops across the central US over the weekend.

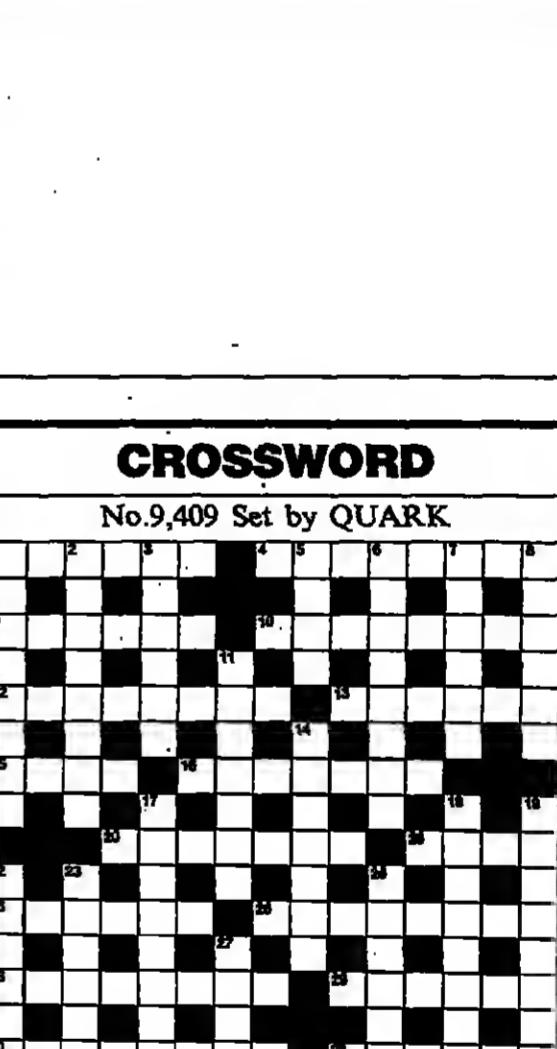
Analysts said temperatures far above normal had sped development of the US maize crop, which had been behind due to a cool wet spring.

The meeting had been scheduled for today, but a number of directors had threatened to resign if Mr Rambaud's mandate was not renewed.

JOTTER PAD

CROSSWORD

No. 9,409 Set by QUARK



CROSSWORD

No. 9,409 Set by QUARK

1 A big one for a VIP (6)
 2 Please be prepared for 1 across (3,3)
 3 Extreme wickedness with out or it's a feeling of hostility (6)
 4 Some prepared a mild 1 across (4)
 5 It shows 19 go by the drunk (6)
 6 English handle with bit of lead coating (6)
 7 Right of admission to course (6)
 11 Bad government disorder (7)
 14 Tony's company, in short, could produce rich businessmen (7)
 17 Covers for the raised structure wrong? (6,3)
 18 Spare man newly created 1 across (3)
 19 Kind of card correspondence (3)
 22 Wine and dine after lifting iron to make one incapable (6)
 23 A little tree in Bosnia, perhaps? (6)
 24 Umpire's verdict leading to carry-on? (3,3)
 27 Endlessly short 1 across (4)

Solution to Saturday's prize puzzle on Saturday July 5.
 Solution to yesterday's prize puzzle on Monday July 7.

COMMODITIES PRICES

BASE METALS

LONDON METAL EXCHANGE

(Prices from Amalgamated Metal Tracking)

■ ALUMINUM, 99.7 PURITY (\$ per tonne)

Close	9	9 mths
Previous	1595.0-63.5	1585.0-97.5
High/Low	1567.5-5.5	1580.0-81
AM Official	1549.45	1572.00
Kerb close	1587.88	
Open Int.	256,380	
Total daily turnover	63,940	

■ ALUMINUM ALLOY (\$ per tonne)

Close	1440.45	1483.65
Previous	1443.3	1468.70
High/Low	1468.0-1460.0	1468.70-1460.0
AM Official	1436.37	1464.64
Kerb close	1452.07	1462.07
Open Int.	5,102	
Total daily turnover	1,728	

■ LEAD (\$ per tonne)

Close	609.0	621.2
Previous	610.11	622.3
High/Low	606.0	622.3
AM Official	603.5-6	618.5-5
Kerb close	620.1	
Open Int.	52,688	
Total daily turnover	14,433	

■ NICKEL (\$ per tonne)

Close	7100-10	7215-20
Previous	7105-10	7215-20
High/Low	7110/7055	7220/7170
AM Official	7095-100	7215-17
Kerb close	7210-90	
Open Int.	14,881	
Total daily turnover	4,043	

■ ZINC (\$ per tonne)

Close	5550-60	5600-10
Previous	5580-70	5610-15
High/Low	5530-40	5620/575
AM Official	5535-40	5600-90
Kerb close	5602-30	
Open Int.	14,081	
Total daily turnover	3,258	

■ COPPER, grade A (\$ per tonne)

Close	2843-45	2904-50
Previous	2708-11	2850-40
High/Low	2830/2825	2905/2945
AM Official	2822-30	2944-45
Kerb close	2912-13	
Open Int.	80,978	

■ CRUDE OIL, NYMEX (1,000 barrels/bbl)

Close	17.78	-0.07
Previous	17.72	-0.07
High/Low	17.72	-0.07
AM Official	17.72	-0.07
Kerb close	17.72	-0.07
Open Int.	30,258	

■ ENERGY

■ CRUDE OIL, NYMEX (1,000 barrels/bbl)

Close	17.78	-0.07
Previous	17.72	-0.07
High/Low	17.72	-0.07
AM Official	17.72	-0.07
Kerb close	17.72	-0.07
Open Int.	30,258	

■ GOLD (\$ per oz)

Close	428.00	-0.02
Previous	427.00	-0.02
High/Low	427.00	-0.02
AM Official	427.00	-0.02
Kerb close	427.00	-0.02
Open Int.	4,043	

■ HIGH GRADE COPPER (COMEX)

Close	1,207	-0.02
Previous	1,207	-0.02
High/Low	1,207	-0.02
AM Official	1,207	

on spat
and Iraq

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FT MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

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LONDON SHARE SERVICE									
ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES	CHIMAYE	CHIQUITA							
BANKS, RETAIL	CHEMICALS - Cont.	CHINATONE							
BREWERIES, PUBS & REST	DISTRIBUTORS	CHINATONE							
BUILDING & CONSTRUCTION	DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRIALS	CHINATONE							
ELECTRICITY	EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES - COAL	CHINATONE							
ELECTRONIC & ELECTRICAL EOPT	ENGINEERING - Cont.	CHINATONE							
CHEMICALS	ENGINEERING	CHINATONE							
PHARMA	FOOD PRODUCERS	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY	GAS DISTRIBUTION	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	HEALTH CARE	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	HOUSEHOLD GOODS	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	INSURANCE	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	INVESTMENT TRUSTS	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	INVESTMENT TRUSTS - Cont.	CHINATONE							
INDUSTRIAL PLANT	INV TRUSTS SPLIT CAPITAL	CHINATONE							



John Williams

مکاتبہ احمدیہ

LONDON SHARE SERVICE

LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE

FTSE 100 down again but closes off lows

MARKET REPORT

By Steve Thompson,
UK Stock Market Editor

The sell-off in the UK equity market stretched to a sixth consecutive trading session yesterday, but there were signs that much of the recent spate of downside pressure had been absorbed by the market.

The FTSE 100 index closed the session a net 18.1 off at 4,787.98, lifting its decline over the past six trading days to over 200 points, or 4.3 per cent. But it finished well above the session low.

That was 4,547.0, from the late morning, when London was

caught in the grip of a fresh burst of nervousness about the possibility of a market-shaking Budget on July 2, which might well be followed up with another increase in UK interest rates.

London's late rally, which dealers said had been encouraged by a pick-up in sentiment in the futures market, was all the more impressive in that Wall Street's retreat was from an all-time high, as against London's fall.

The late rally was mostly con-

centrated in the leaders, with the second-liners finishing only a fraction above the session low, measured by the FTSE 250, while the smaller capitalised stocks were left languishing at the bottom of the day's trading range.

At the finish, the FTSE 250 posted a 30.2 fall at 4,454.8, and the FTSE SmallCap index dropped 14.7 to 2,246.4. The FTSE All-Shares slipped 10.1 to 2,177.79.

Another reason for the late burst of support across the leader board was a fresh buzz of take-over speculation, which began in the banks and insurance sectors and spilled over into other areas of the market, most notably the defence-engineering markets.

In the latter, GEC made rapid progress, advancing almost 5 per cent as hints that the long-running merger rumours involving the company with British Aerospace may yet prove correct.

NatWest, the centre of intense speculation in recent days, was easily the top performer in the FTSE 100. Weekend press reports pinpointed Barclays Bank as a potential predator and also cited numerous other overseas and domestic banks as possible partners.

Another hint in the market was that Norwich Union might be in the firing line for a potential bidder.

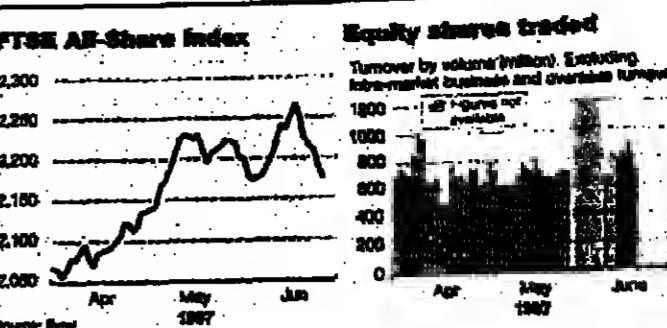
Asked about the likely direc-

tion of the market in the short term, a senior marketmaker said he felt the market had seen the worst of the sell-off.

The strategy team at Merrill Lynch pointed out in the broker's latest note that the theoretical fall in the UK market, in the event of the abolition of the tax credit, would be approximately 7 per cent.

But the strategists continued: "Given the cash levels of institutions, the expectations of fund managers and the healthy outlook for corporate profits, we do not expect a correction of this magnitude."

Turnover in equities at 6pm was a healthy 571.5m shares.



	Indices and ratios		Equity shares traded
FTSE 100	4575.8	-18.1	Turnover by volume (million). Excluding inter-market business and overseas turnover
FTSE 250	4454.8	-30.2	1,000
FTSE 350	2219.0	-10.1	100,000
FTSE All-Share	2177.79	-10.14	10 yr Gilt Yield
FTSE All-Share yield	3.56	3.56	Long gilt/equity gilt rate 2.04

	Best performing sectors		Worst performing sectors
1 Electronic & Sect Equip	+1.9	1 Tobacco	-3.8
2 Gas Distribution	+1.2	2 Chemicals	-3.0
3 Health Care	+0.2	3 Retailer Food	-1.3
4 Extractive Inds	+0.2	4 Diversified Inds	-1.2
5 Telecommunications	+0.2	5 Retailer General	-1.1

FUTURES AND OPTIONS

■ FTSE 100 INDEX FUTURES (LIFFE) £25 per full index point (APM)							
	Open	Sett	Change	High	Low	Est. vol	Open int
Sep	4605.0	4580.0	+60.0	4605.0	4525.0	14987	54130
Dec	-	-	-	-	-	0	2339

■ FTSE 250 INDEX FUTURES (LIFFE) £10 per full index point							
	Open	Sett	Change	High	Low	Est. vol	Open int

■ FTSE 100 INDEX OPTION (LIFFE) £457.30 per full index point							
	C	P	C	P	C	P	O/P
Sep	4400	4450	4500	4550	4600	4650	4750
Oct	4420	4470	4520	4570	4620	4670	4740
Nov	4450	4500	4550	4600	4650	4700	4741
Dec	4480	4530	4580	4630	4680	4730	4754
Jan	4510	4560	4610	4660	4710	4760	4774
Feb	4540	4590	4640	4690	4740	4790	4804
Mar	4570	4620	4670	4720	4770	4820	4834
Apr	4600	4650	4700	4750	4800	4850	4864
May	4630	4680	4730	4780	4830	4880	4894
Jun	4660	4710	4760	4810	4860	4910	4924
Jul	4690	4740	4790	4840	4890	4940	4954
Aug	4720	4770	4820	4870	4920	4970	4984
Sep	4750	4800	4850	4900	4950	5000	5014

■ EURO STOXX 50 INDEX OPTION (LIFFE) £10 per full index point							
	C	P	C	P	C	P	O/P
Sep	4275	4325	4375	4425	4475	4525	4575
Oct	4305	4355	4405	4455	4505	4555	4605
Nov	4335	4385	4435	4485	4535	4585	4635
Dec	4365	4415	4465	4515	4565	4615	4665
Jan	4400	4450	4500	4550	4600	4650	4700
Feb	4430	4480	4530	4580	4630	4680	4730
Mar	4460	4510	4560	4610	4660	4710	4760
Apr	4490	4540	4590	4640	4690	4740	4790
May	4520	4570	4620	4670	4720	4770	4820
Jun	4550	4600	4650	4700	4750	4800	4850

■ FTSE 100 INDEX FUTURE (LIFFE) £10 per full index point							
	C	P	C	P	C	P	O/P
Sep	4400	4450	4500	4550	4600	4650	4750
Oct	4420	4470	4520	4570	4620	4670	4740
Nov	4450	4500	4550	4600	4650	4700	4741
Dec	4480	4530	4580	4630	4680	4730	4754
Jan	4510	4560	4610	4660	4710	4760	4804
Feb	4540	4590	4640	4690	4740	4790	4844
Mar	4570	4620	4670	4720	4770	4820	4864
Apr	4600	4650	4700	4750	4800	4850	4894
May	4630	4680	4730	4780	4830	4880	4924
Jun	4660	4710	4760	4810	4860	4910	4954

† Long dated equity month. Premiums shown are based on settlement prices.

‡ Long dated equity month.

LONDON RECENT ISSUES: EQUITIES

Issue	Act	Mkt	Price paid	cap	1997	High	Low	Close	price	p/d	Div	Grs	P/E	Yield	Vol	Chgng	On's	Days	Vol	Chgng	On's	Days
F 5	FP	913	120	7825	Aeroso Vilas	73																

3:30 pm June 23

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE PRICES

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Dow turns lower at midsession

AMERICAS

After last week's volatile performance, topped by Friday's historic tobacco deal, Wall Street took a breather as leading indices moved lower by midday, writes John Labate in New York.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average was off \$9.75 at 7,737.25. Among major industrials, Allied Signal, the aerospace and automotive products manufacturer, fell \$1.1 at \$82.87 while aircraft leader Boeing dropped \$1.1 at \$50.5. Chemicals and plastics producer Union Carbide was down \$.7 at \$47.74. The Aluminum Company of America fell \$.1 at \$74.4.

Bucking the trend among large companies was IBM as it neared its historic high with a rise of \$.4 at \$94.0.

"This is a normal pullback after triple witching day," said Mr Ralph Acampora, technical strategist at Prudential Securities.

Friday's markets experienced heavy volume on the day of the simultaneous expiry of options and futures contracts, known as "triple switching".

Following their agreement last Friday, tobacco company stocks traded slightly lower. Philip Morris fell \$.1 at \$44.4, R.J.R. Nabisco slipped \$.2 at \$34.34 and Lycos dipped \$.1 at \$10.25.

"The market seems to be taking a wait-and-see attitude about the agreement," said Mr. Acampora, who

would have expected larger declines if investors were more concerned.

Technology stocks fared better as the technology-rich Nasdaq Composite inched up .65 at 1,447.73. Dell Computer rallied as shares rose 22% at \$122. Cisco Systems, the networking leader, spiked up \$.1 at \$70.

Internet services provider Yahoo plunged 1% at \$37 following an analyst's grade.

Telecommunications leaders had mixed results in morning trading. AT&T was down 4% at \$36.74 while its long-distance rival, MCI Communications, rose \$.2, trading at \$38.4. Among the baby Bell stocks, Bell Atlantic fell \$.1 at \$75.75 while Ameritech fell \$.2 at \$70.

TORONTO moved lower. Banks rallied modestly but golds came in for heavy selling, and at the noon calculation the 300 composite index was off 19.03 at 6,492.40.

Bullion stayed weak and golds picked up where they left off on Friday, sliding steadily lower.

Barrick Gold, off 60 cents in the preceding session, retreated 5 cents to \$31 and Placer Dome fell 75 cents to \$22.95.

Among leading industrials, Alcan Aluminum shed 55 cents to \$34.20 and Bombardier 35 cents to \$31.50. Banks provided one of the brightest upside features. Royal Bank of Canada added 80 cents at \$62.20.

PARIS traded narrowly to

trobars surged to 637 pesos, a gain of 3.4 per cent.

CARACAS had an active morning too. At midsession, the IBC index was up 135.44 or 1.7 per cent at \$1,444.87.

MEXICO CITY moved lower in light trading. Borsatex hardened 4 centavos to 183.30 pesos, but at midsession the IPC index was down 22.60 at 4,165.54.

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TELEBRAZIL on 1.5 per cent to 158.10 pesos and Ele-

EUROPE

Strong performances by Nestlé and Roche enabled ZURICH to rebound from a weak opening and climb to a fourth consecutive all-time high. The SMI index picked up 26.0 to 2,610.8.

Roche certificates, a poor second best to the sharply higher Novartis last week, broke through resistance at SFr13,350 to add SFr250 at SFr13,600. The shares were also supported by news that the company was selling its Humacao plant in Puerto Rico and nine prescription pharmaceutical products to ICN Pharmaceuticals of the US in a deal valued at a net \$145m. The news indicated, analysts said, that Roche was committed to a sharper focus on its businesses.

Novartis, up almost SFr200 last week after a well-received research presentation on Tuesday, gave up SFr14 to SFr1,276 on profit-taking.

Nestlé's sharp SFr43 rise to SFr1,290 was attributed to technical reasons as the shares broke through resistance at SFr1,289.

Zurich Insurance, which climbed SFr10 to SFr655, took the spotlight in the financial sector.

PARIS traded narrowly to

FTSE Actuaries Share Indices

JUN 23
Index changes Open 10.30 11.00 12.00 13.00 14.00 15.00 Close
FTSE Eurostocks 100 2463.14 2461.27 2461.28 2464.21 2468.06 2467.01 2468.67 2468.95
FTSE Eurostocks 200 2445.36 2444.68 2447.37 2448.03 2449.05 2450.28 2515.51 2513.47

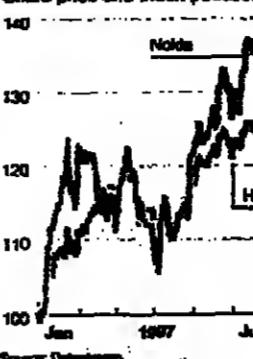
Jan 23 Jan 24 Jan 15 Jan 17 Jan 18

Source: FTSE International Limited. Data at open price.

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Nokia

Share price and index (rebased)



Source: Datamonitor

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OSLO hit a new peak on the back of a good day for index heavyweight Nokia which surged to FMk330 at one stage before closing FMk2.60 higher at FMk23.60. The company was said to have come in for an upgrade from a US broker. The Nasdaq rose 31.49 to 3,157.88.

MILAN continued to ride a wave of optimism over the outlook for Enel and June inflation figures, which pulled in domestic and foreign investors. The Comit index rose 5.09 to an 11-year high of 2,734 while the real-time Mibtel index was at an all-time peak of 13,817, up 132 on the day after a day's best of 13,333.

Analysts noted that the indices would have been higher still but for a batch of stocks trading ex-dividend which pulled the figures down by about 0.7 per cent. STOCKHOLM moved up to a new high, helped by renewed buying of drug leaders Astra and Pharmacia & Upjohn. The former added SKR2.50 at SKR18.5 and P&U gained SKR5.00 to SKR26.5. The general index ended 18.03 higher at 2,932.90.

Written and edited by Michael Morgan and Jeffrey Brown

Istanbul soars 8% to peak

Istanbul surged 8 per cent in hectic activity on rising hopes for a new, Islamist-free coalition to be led by the conservative leader, Mr Mevlut Yilmaz.

The IMKB National-100 index closed at an all-time high, up 132 at 1,774, easily surpassing the previous peak of 1,700 established on January 27. Turnover also soared to TL45,480bn from Friday's TL27,120bn.

Mr Yilmaz, the prime minister-designate, who is leader of the main opposition Motherland party, said yesterday that he saw no chance of failure in his efforts to form a secularist coalition to keep the Islamists out of power.

One analyst said the market would be a direct beneficiary of a new government winning a vote of confidence. "There will be profit-taking but as long as the political developments are positive, the short-term target will be the 2,000-point level," he said.

Metal industry stocks were yesterday's best performers, with a 13.6 per cent surge in the utility sector.

Zurich climbs to another record

EUROPE

Strong performances by Nestlé and Roche enabled ZURICH to rebound from a weak opening and climb to a fourth consecutive all-time high. The SMI index picked up 26.0 to 2,610.8.

Roche certificates, a poor second best to the sharply higher Novartis last week, broke through resistance at SFr13,350 to add SFr250 at SFr13,600. The shares were also supported by news that the company was selling its Humacao plant in Puerto Rico and nine prescription pharmaceutical products to ICN Pharmaceuticals of the US in a deal valued at a net \$145m. The news indicated, analysts said, that Roche was committed to a sharper focus on its businesses.

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Zurich Insurance, which climbed SFr10 to SFr655, took the spotlight in the financial sector.

PARIS traded narrowly to

FRANKFURT

pulled back as profit-taking, Wall Street and a weaker dollar pulled the market down. The Dax indicated Dax Index finished 39.75 weaker at 3,748.75.

Among the day's corporate developments, Alcatel Alsthom and Lagardere stood out. A weak market lately, Lagardere was the day's top performer, adding FFr17.30 or 4.4 per cent to FFr376.5. Alcatel gained FFr12 to FFr635 as investors warmed to last week's earnings upgrades by brokers.

LVMH had another volatile session. Last Thursday the shares fell 3 per cent on stake-building in Grand Metropolitan of the UK. They rallied almost 5 per cent on Friday but fell back FFr28.00 or 1.6 per cent to FFr1,503 yesterday.

Elsewhere, Siemens broke through technical resistance to close DM220 up at a record high of DM103.80.

AMSTERDAM eased back from recent record levels, ending off 1.34 at 880.86 after a mixed session for the AEX index.

Volume fell from Friday's 416,900 shares to an estimated 296,000. Declines led advances 633 to 424 with 197 unchanged.

Turnover remained modest at Bt5.6m but sentiment was said to have shown clear signs of a recovery. "It was all a bit technical after the recent shakeout, but there was some genuine buying," said one broker.

Banks continued to lead the rally. First Farmers rose by the daily limit, adding Bt7.50 to Bt25.50 in Bt63m turnover. Bangkok Bank gained Bt10.00 to Bt11.9 and Krung Thai Bank Bt25.0 to Bt26.25.

TOKYO made modest gains after hovering within a narrow range. Export-driven issues advanced on the dollar's strength against the yen in the wake of the G7 summit, but the majority of stocks declined, writes Gwen Robinson.

The Nikkei 225 average gained 50.68 to 20,496.14 after moving between 20,386.04 and 20,461.53. The market was encouraged from the outset by New York's gains on Friday.

Investors were relieved that the Denver summit did not place undue stress on yen-dollar exchange rates and, instead, urged Japan to achieve growth through domestic demand rather

than relying on exports.

Tentative foreign buying bailed out the second session running. At the close, the SET index was up 24.28 at 504.53 for a two-day advance of nearly 8.5 per cent.

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than relying on exports.

Foreign investors pursued domestic demand-driven issues. Jusco, a leading supermarket operator, added Yen 60 to Yen 990 and Marui gained Yen 60 to Yen 2,290.

Carmakers gained ground after recent setbacks. Honda advanced for the first time in five trading days, gaining Yen 60 to Yen 2,720. Suzuki Motor rose Yen 40 to Yen 1,460 but Toyota stayed flat at Yen 3,350.

Fujitsu, the day's most active issue, rose Yen 20 to Yen 1,590 after earlier reaching a intraday high for the year of Yen 1,600. Leading consumer electricals advanced although some high-technology issues fell short to profit-taking. Sony gained Yen 40 to Yen 870 and NEC Yen 20 to Yen 1,650.

Property developers advanced. Mitsubishi Estate added Yen 20 to Yen 610, Mitsui Fudosan Yen 10 to Yen 540 and Sumitomo Realty and Develop-

ment Yen 17 to Yen 1,010.

Pharmaceuticals, however, retreated after substantial gains in recent sessions. Sanofi Pharma indicated which last week announced poor earnings projections for the current business year to March, fell Yen 20 to Yen 650.

Takeda Chemical dropped Yen 20 to Yen 3,70 and Yamazaki Pharmaceutical Yen 20 to Yen 3,650.

In Osaka, the OSE average fell 13.15 to 21,186.20 and volume rose to 18.4m shares.

MANILA fell sharply after profit-taking in selected property stocks sparked across-the-board selling. The composite index came off 73.08 or 2.5 per cent to 2,808.65. Turnover was heavy at 2.5m pesos.

Megaworld Properties stood out against the down-

trend, adding 55 centavos to 5.10 pesos.

TAIPEI rose to a seven-year high in turnover of T\$15.5m with the weighted index advancing 9.29 to 8,925.12 after a session best of 8,940.88.

The electronics sector gained 5.4 per cent after Taiwan Semiconductor raised its 1997 sales and profit targets by more than 20 per cent. Shares in the chip giant jumped by the 7 per cent daily limit to T\$15.5.

United Microelectronics, Winbond and Mosel were all limit up too at T\$15.11, T\$84.5 and T\$87.5 respectively.

BONG KONG took a roller coaster ride, initially adding to Friday's 4.5 per cent surge to establish a new all-time

high before profit-taking pulled shares back amid nervousness over China-related red chips.

The Hang Seng Index touched a peak of 15,322 in another show of bullish enthusiasm ahead of next week's handover to China. But later the index pulled back to close at 13,813.13 lower at 15,021.23. Turnover, which remained heavy at HK\$2.5m, was attributed to inflows from China.

Analysts noted that the market was also dampened by China's announcement last Friday that the transfer of domestic assets into China-controlled companies overseas would require government approval if the purpose was to place assets in a listed company.

Hang Seng Bank, sharply

higher last week on speculation that Chinese interests might take a stake, tumbled FK\$35.50 to HK\$104 on profit-taking.

KUALA LUMPUR was broadly lower, with the composite index down 8.55 to 10,683.98, but Taiping Consolidated and Malpac Holdings both bucked the trend, jumping to 12-month highs in heavy trade.

Taiping jumped 88 cents to M\$3.05 on speculation that it planned to sell its interest in Sentul Rayu, a mixed property development in Kuala Lumpur.

Malpac, the stockbroking and financial services group, gained 90 cents to M\$3.30 on news that United Merchant Group was buying a stake. United Merchant dropped 22 cents to M\$3.78.

India 50 YEARS of independence

Reforms stir hopes for era of prosperity

Martin Wolf says more bold changes are needed if India is to better the mixed record of the first half-century

India, Winston Churchill once remarked, "is a geographical expression. It is no more a united nation than the Equator". The brutal division of the sub-continent in 1947 seemed to show he was right. But the still-vast India that then emerged has proved him wrong. It survived not just as a country, but as a democracy. The overriding goal of its next half century needs to be the still more ambitious one of widely-shared prosperity.

Before 1947, today's India had never been a unified state. Language, religion, caste and wealth have always divided its vast population. For such a country to have sustained elections, a free press and an independent judiciary would have been incredible if it had not happened.

There have been rewards. The country has escaped the famines that blotched the record of China's Communist rule. The population has soared from 340m at independence to 970m today, but it has been fed. Nor has India's turbulent democracy halted economic progress: real incomes per head have grown at a compound rate of 2 per cent a year over the past half century - faster than in its people's previous history.

Yet India could have done far better. Until the 1980s, the economy grew at between 3 and 4 per cent a year - a rate that became known, disparagingly, as the Hindu rate of economic growth. Then, in the 1980s, the pace quickened, as growth rose towards 6 per cent a year. Unfortunately,

the improvement was unsustainable and led to a balance of payments crisis in June 1991.

Only today, after the beginnings of radical reform under the then prime minister, Mr Narasimha Rao, and his finance minister, Mr Manmohan Singh, can India hope to grow at 6 per cent, sustainably. But the 8 to 10 per cent achieved elsewhere still seems well beyond its reach.

At independence, India was a leader among developing countries. Under the authoritarian leadership of its first prime minister, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, the country was accorded the influence it saw as its due. Then, in the 1960s, the West supported India as the alternative to Chinese communism. Yet neither influence nor

assistance creates prosperity. Under the sway of socialist ideals, anxiety about foreign economic encroachment and upper-caste contempt for merchants, India embarked on planned, inward-looking development. Imitating the Soviets, whom they took as mentors, India saw publicly-owned heavy industry as the route to modernisation. But India also had private enterprise. The result was the byzantine system of controls that became known as the "permit raj".

Over time, the strategic error became evident. India had assumed there were no opportunities for rapid expert expansion, but soon found that tiny Hong Kong earned more from its exports than it did itself. India had assumed competition was wasteful, but learned there

could be no improvement in productivity without it. As India fell behind more dynamic rivals, including China, it lost its reputation.

It lost not just influence abroad, but also innocence at home. Controls bred corruption and intervention bred interest groups. Indian society has long been divided into narrow occupational groups; it still has some 900 sub-castes, for example. But it was India's interventionist policies that turned this broad tendency into an economic cancer.

The result has been condemned by two close observers, Mr Vijay Joshi and Mr Ian Little of Oxford University, as "exclusive bourgeois socialism". Advocates justified the policies India pursued as

ways to combat poverty. The reality has been the opposite: only the 10 per cent of the labour force with jobs in the public sector or large-scale private companies enjoy security and the lion's share of investment; the benefits of subsidies go predominantly to better off segments of the population; and the adult literacy rate is still only 50 per cent, while that for women is a third.

Behind the socialist rhetoric, India created an uncompetitive industrial island in an ocean of poverty. It sought to combine progress with minimal change, promoting a narrow industrialisation that left the bulk of the population in the villages where Indian stability had always been based.

By the time the economic crisis struck in mid-1991, the

old system was bankrupt financially, intellectually and politically. Socialist economies had collapsed everywhere. The Congress party that led the fight for independence and provided almost all subsequent governments had been captured by the Gandhi dynasty. Politicians were tainted by corruption. The bureaucracy had lost its reputation for competence. The government had abandoned its wonted fiscal prudence.

Businessmen displayed entrepreneurship in the hunt for licences.

Time had come for a change. Indeed, behind the edifice of Nehruvian centralisation, change had long been under way. An internationally competitive entrepreneurship had emerged: India's thriving software industry is an example; its exports of gems and jewellery are another.

India's states had also developed distinct policies and politics. Kerala achieved

levels of education and health up to the best developing country standards. Punjab's income per head became more than triple that of poverty-stricken Bihar.

The greater concern must

be over whether govern-

ment

Continued on Page 15

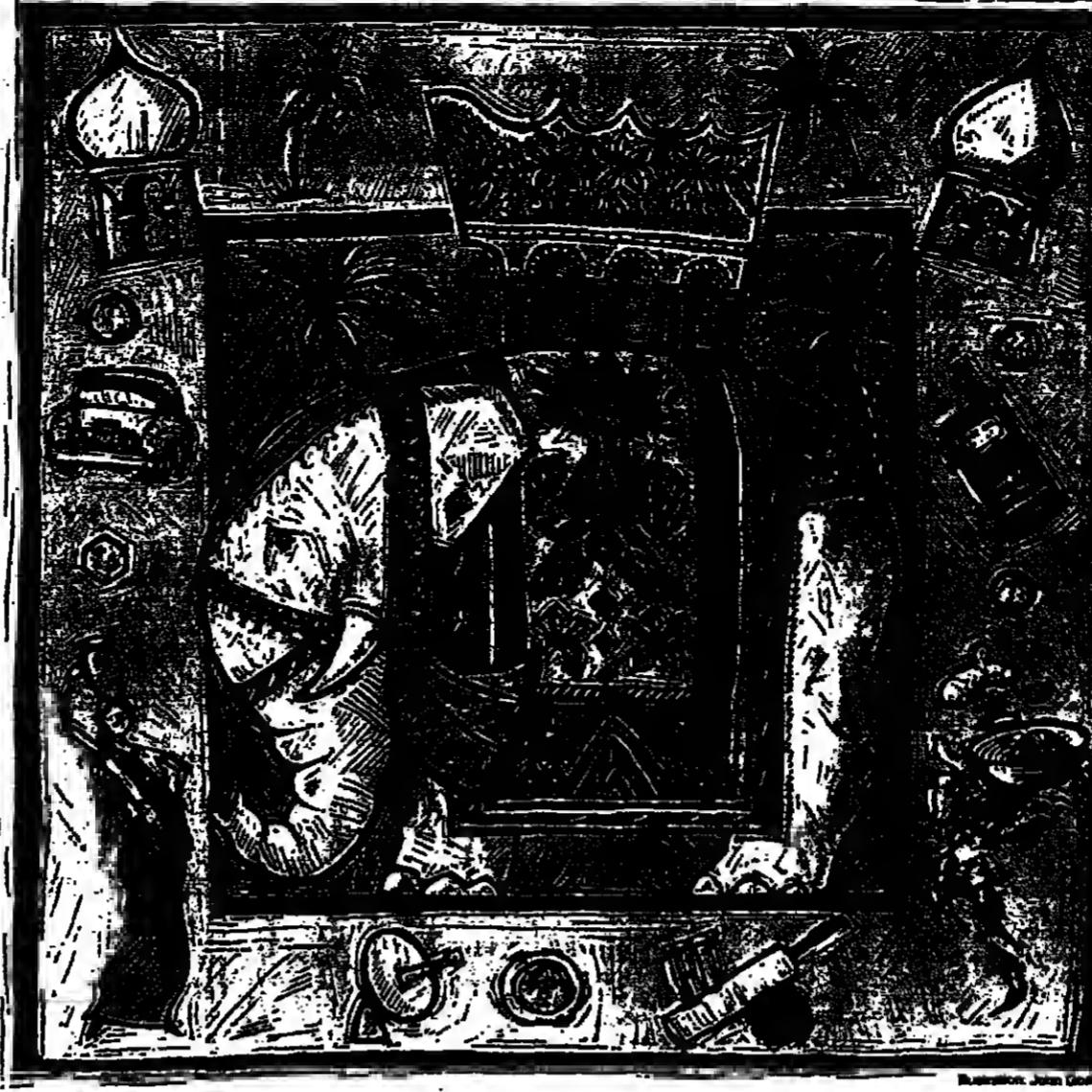


Illustration: Jean Goulet

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Businessmen displayed entrepreneurship in the hunt for licences.

Change is painful, particularly in a society as complex and conservative as India's. It carries with it the risks of social conflict and democratic populism. But it also creates opportunities. New businesses, politicians and political arrangements begin to emerge.

Of the changes now under way - the move to a market economy and political decentralisation - the first is the more unambiguously beneficial. A more competitive, economy is the only possible basis for the faster growth India desperately needs. It should also limit corruption by reducing the need for it. But the market will generate social upheaval and pull millions from the village to the towns.

The greater concern must be over whether govern-

ment

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CESS,

2 INDIA: The economy

PERFORMANCE • by Martin Wolf

Perils of 'licence raj'

Extensive government intervention hampered economic progress and failed to reduce poverty

Economically, India's half-century has been a failure.

If one's standard were India's past, or what has happened in the many poorly performing developing countries in the past 50 years, this judgment would be harsh and unfair. But these tests are too easy. Judged by its potential, the needs of its people and the performance of its eastern neighbours, India has failed.

According to a study by Mr Angus Maddison for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, India's real gross domestic product per head rose 125 per cent between 1950 and 1992 – a compound rate of growth of 2 per cent a year. Since real incomes per head rose just 12 per cent between 1820 and 1950, this may appear satisfactory – particularly since the population increased from 345m in 1947 to 880m in 1992 – and 856m in 1996.

Yet, by the standards of the best-performing developing countries, India's performance has been mediocre. Indonesia's real income per head rose 215 per cent between 1950 and 1992; China's 400 per cent; Thailand's 450 per cent; South Korea's 1,040 per cent; and Taiwan's 1,160 per cent.

In 1947 living standards in China were much the same as in India. By the mid-1990s China's were roughly double.

In 1993, according to the World Development Indicators of the World Bank, 1,310m people lived on less than \$1 a day – measured at purchasing power parity – of whom 470m were Indian. In sub-Saharan Africa the number of similarly poor people was 230m. Even in China it was only 35m.

This poverty does not appear to be the result of a particularly unequal distribution of incomes. Figures from the World Bank suggest the distribution may even be quite equal by the standards of developing countries. If there was to be

- A substantial reduction in India's pervasive poverty, the economy would have to grow faster.
- Rapid labour-absorbing industrialisation has been the basis for economic advance in successful labour-abundant developing countries. But Indian industry has not grown fast enough. The share of manufacturing in GDP was 14 per cent in 1960 and still only 19 per cent in 1993. Similarly, the proportion of India's workforce employed in industry was only 11 per cent in the early 1990s, no higher than in 1960.
- Particularly striking has been dismal job creation by larger enterprises. In 1995 employment in private manufacturing companies with 10 or more employees was a mere 4.7m. With public sector employment added, the total was still only 6.5m – about 2 per cent of the workforce.
- The reason for India's industrial growth and employment expansion being so weak is perverse policies. As Mr Vijay Joshi and Mr Ian Little of Oxford University said in a study (*India's Economic Reforms 1991-2000*) published last year:

"The strategy of Indian industrialisation did not change much from independence to 1990. It emphasised heavy industry, public ownership and import substitution. This went along with contempt for the price mechanism and a belief that competition was harmful."

The range and intensity of government interference in industry defies belief. The government:

- Told businesses what to produce, how, where and in what quantities;
- Prevented them from laying off labour or closing unprofitable factories;
- Placed obstacles against expansion by big private business, both domestic and foreign;
- Limited the entry of competitors;
- Provided subsidised credit

to favoured users;

- Controlled prices, notably of steel, fertilisers and petroleum products;
- Controlled imports and inward investment;
- Created monopoly importers of raw materials;
- Nationalised banks and insurance companies and owned a substantial number of industrial enterprises;
- Monopolised provision of infrastructure.

Many proponents justified these policies as helping the poor. But, as Mr Joshi and Mr Little point out: "Almost all government interventions in industry... reduced the demand for labour. At the same time, almost all controls have channelled the benefits of growth... to a minority of the population."

Consider some of the harmful effects of these industrial policies.

First, public enterprise has been inefficient. Between 1986 and 1991 state-owned enterprises made 30 per cent of gross investment, but generated only 14 per cent of GDP. In manufacturing, the public sector received nearly 30 per cent of domestic investment between 1983-86 and 1983-84, but generated 15 per cent of value added.

The return to public investment in manufacturing was 3 per cent to 5 per cent between 1976-77 (April to March) and 1986-87, compared with 17 per cent to 23 per cent in the private sector.

The return on net capital employed in the central public sector enterprises at well below cost, sometimes even free. State electricity boards have become bankrupt. In 1992-93 they had a negative return on assets of 13.5 per cent. This has made it impossible to finance the needed generating capacity. The result has been power cuts and growing reliance by

companies on high-cost captive generating capacity.

Third, protection against imports prevented India from exploiting its comparative advantage in labour-intensive manufacturing and eliminated international competition from the domestic economy. In 1970, when inward-looking policies reigned supreme, the ratio of trade in goods and services to GDP was a mere 8 per cent, the lowest in the world, but for China.

Fourth, the government has offered special tax exemptions and reserved production of hundreds of items to small-scale enterprises. In recent years about 800 to 900 products have been reserved in this way, more than half in light engineering. This policy has reduced quality, hindered exports and thwarted the growth of efficient companies.

Fifth, protection has been given to the small proportion of the workforce employed in organised industry – and the public sector. In most countries it is illegal to trade when bankrupt. In India it has been illegal to cease doing so. Similarly, it has been made almost impossible for big companies to dismiss workers.

The panoply of controls, regulations and restrictions became known as "the permit raj". The wonder is not that it slowed industrialisation, but that it permitted industrialisation at all.

The initial motivations for the regime were Fabian socialism, suspicion of merchants and fear of foreigners. Over time, however, policies were increasingly captured by corrupt politicians, self-seeking bureaucrats, industrialists, trade unionists and big farmers.

Meanwhile, the interests

of hundreds of millions of poor, illiterate Indians were ignored. In 1992-93 subsidies to power were Rs88.9bn and to industry Rs128.4bn, while spending on elementary education was Rs110.1bn. It is no surprise that adult literacy was only 51 per cent

in 1993. For women it was just over one-third. Yet China's adult literacy rate is about 80 per cent.

According to Professor Jean Drèze, visiting professor at the Delhi School of Economics, and Professor Amartya Sen of Harvard University, India's record on literacy and infant mortality

is no better than that of sub-Saharan Africa. In 1980 literacy in South Korea and Thailand was much higher than in India today.

As the years passed, the extent of India's failure to

keep up with more

successful developing

countries became clear and attitudes began to change.

Tentative liberalisation started in 1985, under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This produced some results: GDP grew at 5.8 per cent a year in the 1980s, while manufacturing expanded at 7.4 per cent.

Unfortunately, the growth was unsustainable. The fiscal deficit crept up from 4.5 per cent of GDP in the late 1970s to 6.5 per cent by 1985-86. In the second half of the 1980s the average current account deficit was 2.4 per cent of gross domestic product,

nearly half of exports.

The ratio of external debt

to gross national product

increased from 17.7 per cent

in 1984-85 to 24.5 per cent in

1989-90. The ratio of

debts-to-exports jumped

from 210 per cent to 265 per

cent and the debt service

ratio rose from 14 per cent to

27 per cent.

By June 1991 foreign

exchange reserves were

down to two weeks of

imports and India had

lost creditworthiness in

international financial

markets. Inflation was

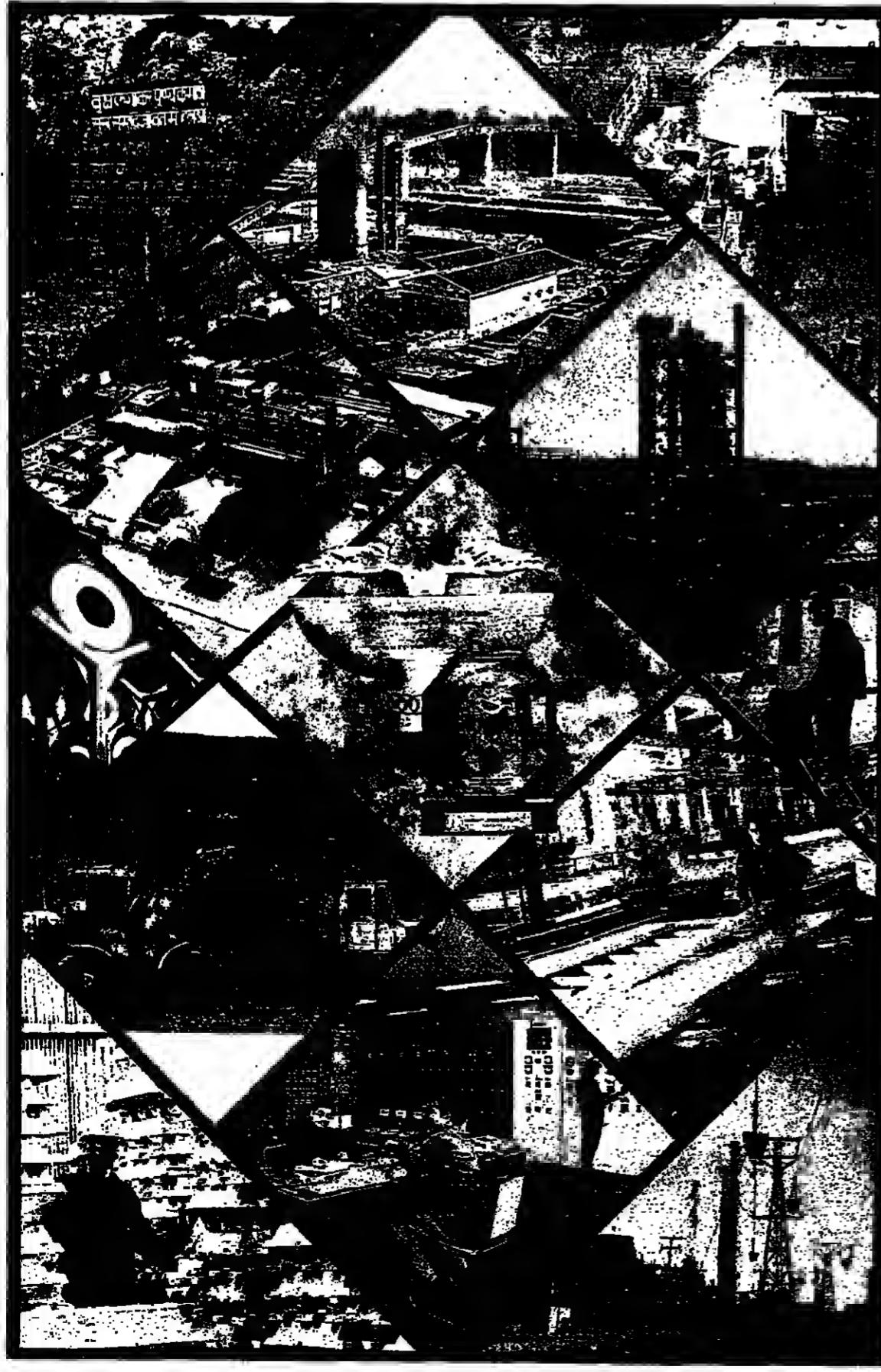
up to the high – by

Indian standards – annual

rate of 13 per cent.

This crisis was also an opportunity. Economic stabilisation was unavoidable. But the government could also exploit this evidence of failure to justify an assault on the policies that had hindered and distorted the Indian economy for so long.

It could liberalise the economy, shift the focus of its attention and change the relationship between the centre and the states. All that it has started to do. The attempt to start afresh makes up the story of the 1990s.



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SPAIN BRIDGE ENGINEERING

LIBERALISATION • by Martin Wolf

Success, with more to come

Much has been done, but a vast agenda of changes remains before fast growth can be achieved

The balance of payments crisis of mid-1991 could have introduced Latin American instability to the Indian economy. Instead, it marked the start of reform, to the credit of the minority Congress government – and, above all, of Mr Manmohan Singh, its outstanding finance minister, and Mr PV Narasimha Rao, the prime minister, who backed him.

"Our strategy," Mr Singh said in a recent interview, "was to bring about macroeconomic stability in the shortest possible period and then to launch a wide-ranging programme of structural reforms to increase the dynamism of our industrial economy, exports and the financial system."

They succeeded. India's rate of growth has risen to about 6 per cent a year, well above the 3½ per cent of the 1960s and 1970s. The growth is also more sustainable than the debt-driven 5.8 per cent of the 1980s.

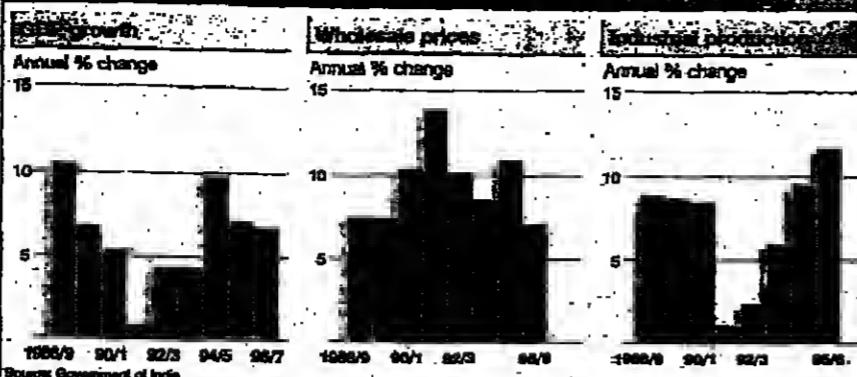
The programme was separated into two broad components. The first was stabilisation, at the heart of which were measures to improve India's fiscal and balance of payments positions. Between 1991-92 (April to March) and 1990-91, the gross fiscal deficit of the central government was more than 8 per cent of gross domestic product. By 1992-93 it had been brought down to 5.7 per cent.

The combination of fiscal tightening with a 22 per cent devaluation of the rupee vis à vis the US dollar in July 1991 and the introduction of a market-determined exchange rate in 1993 sharply improved the current account position. A deficit of 3.2 per cent of GDP in 1990-91 fell to 0.5 per cent the following year, while foreign exchange reserves rose from US \$2.2bn in 1990-91 to \$21.7bn by the end of 1994-95.

The second and more fundamental part was structural reform. The central elements, most introduced in the first two years, were:

- Deregulation of investment

Crisis and adjustment



and production in most industries.

- Decontrol of business decisions on location and technology transfer, although not of decisions to lay off workers or close operations – the so-called "exit policy".

- Lifting of many import controls, although not those on imports of almost all consumer goods, and the reduction of tariffs to an average of 27 per cent and a peak of 50 per cent before this year's budget.

- Encouragement of foreign direct investment, with majority equity, except in a few consumer goods industries.

- Opening up of more sectors to private investors, including power, steel, oil refining, air transport, telecommunications, ports, mining and pharmaceuticals.

- Liberalisation of capital markets, with entry of private mutual funds, foreign institutional investors and improved regulation.

- Reform of the tax system, by lowering rates and simplifying the structure.

The net effect of this programme was unquestionably positive. After growing by only 0.8 per cent in 1991-92, GDP grew by 5.1 per cent in 1992-93.

This was an exceptionally swift turnaround, compared with almost any other economy in a similar predicament, as Mr Shankar Acharya, the chief economic adviser to the government, has noted. In the five years 1991-92 to 1996-97 growth ran at a compound rate of 6.3 per cent a year.

Yet complacency would be a mistake, as last year's slowdown showed. Export value (in dollars) increased only 4 per cent between 1995-96 and 1996-97, partly because of the dollar's appreciation. Similarly, real industrial value added grew about 6 per cent last year, well below the 11.6 per cent achieved in 1995-96.

More importantly, substantial further reform is needed if growth is to be pushed up from 6 per cent to between 9 per cent and 10 per cent a year. This year's budget from Mr P. Chidambaram, the finance minister, made a splash, notably with its reduction in the top rate of income tax to 30 per cent and abolition of the taxation of dividends in the hands of shareholders. Yet it was more an indication of the minister's reforming intentions than a significant reform in its own right.

Nine aspects of the economy still need attention.

First, the fiscal position is far from solid. Mr Vijay Joshi and Mr Ian Little, of Oxford University, concluded in a study (India's Economic Reforms, 1991-96) published last year that the primary deficit – the deficit, apart from net interest payments – of the non-financial public sector should be less than 1 per cent of GDP. The primary deficit of central

government has fallen from 4.3 per cent in 1990-91 to close to zero last year. But the International Monetary Fund estimates that the primary deficit of the public sector at more than 3 per cent in 1995-96.

Second, according to a report published by the finance ministry in May, subsidies that cannot be readily justified by wider social and economic benefits amounted to 10.7 per cent of GDP in 1994-95. The rate of cost recovery on the subsidised goods and services was a mere 10.3 per cent. These subsidies must be drastically cut.

Third, radical restructuring and privatisation of public sector enterprises is needed. The disinvestment commission set up by Mr Chidambaram last year has selected 15 of India's 250 public enterprises for sale under three different formulae. The approach is too cautious, but action on the commission's recommendations would be a start.

Fourth, the division of revenue between the centre and states needs to be reformed.

The finance minister has proposed that the states would receive 29 per cent of all centrally collected revenues, 2 percentage points of which would be tied to improved state fiscal performance. This requires a constitutional amendment.

Fifth, the states must improve the quality of their spending. Scandalously, state subsidies to irrigation and power at Rs 198.5bn in 1993-94 (\$3.5bn), were almost double their total spending on elementary education and public health.

Sixth, there must be reform of the finance and provision of infrastructure. A report commissioned by the government from Mr Rakesh Mohan, former economic advisor to the industry ministry, has made radical suggestions for financial reform, transparent regulation and, above all, an end to the practice of making public organisations provide

useless jobs and costly subsidies to favoured constituents.

Seventh, trade policy needs further change. The finance minister has committed the government to reducing tariffs to the level prevalent in the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) by the turn of the century. This year he has reduced the peak tariff to 40 per cent. But the most important next step is lifting controls on imports of consumer goods.

Eighth, India should start moving towards convertibility on capital account. A report for the Reserve Bank of India recently recommended convertibility for sale under three different formulae. The approach is too cautious, but action on the commission's recommendations would be a start.

Ninth, labour market regulation, which favours a tiny minority of Indians, must be reformed. The idea of jobs for life must end. The government must accept competition in sensitive sectors, such as civil aviation. Reservation of products to the small-scale sector needs to be ended and the urban land ceiling act – a huge obstacle to efficient urban development – repealed.

Tenth, this is a vast agenda. What is more, it ignores the need for government, particularly the state governments, to focus more attention on social spending. If these reforms were carried out, however, India should be able to grow as quickly as any other big economy.

Eleventh, policy-makers will feel the task is too difficult and painful. But they should appreciate the prize to be won.

At growth of 6 per cent a year, India's income per head will double every 16 years. At 10 per cent, it would double every eight. The lives of one-third of the world's population would then be transformed.

VIEWPOINT

The end of isolation

The 50th anniversary of India's independence should be an occasion for celebration. It is, but the reason is not India's economic achievements. It is the fact that the country's economic reforms are reconnecting it to the rest of the human race after almost half a century of foolish policies, which cost her growth and hence a significant opportunity to ameliorate poverty. Applause is due but much remains to be done.

India's policies were heavily influenced by Fabian socialism, undiscernment about exports and a passionate conviction that integration into the world economy would lead to a dignification of its own economy.

India had a Kafkaesque system of industrial licensing; a strategy of import-substitution industrialisation that undermined economic efficiency and export growth; an unwillingness, ultimately an inability, to attract foreign direct investment; numerous hugely inefficient public enterprises and a deteriorating relative technological position, brought on by the absence of foreign direct investment and an inability to afford imports.

Successive Indian governments persisted in these policies, even as their cost became manifest, and in spite of mounting criticisms from economists. Reforms were tried in 1986, then just before Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination, and again at the start of Rajiv Gandhi's term.

By contrast, prompted by India's imminent external bankruptcy, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Mr Manmohan Singh, his finance minister, started in 1991 to

implement a programme of sustained reforms. Having lasted, even expanded, through the past six years, these have turned the economy around. They have found support among voters and most political parties. Both prime ministers of the United Front who succeeded Mr Rao have embraced them. The question now is not whether the reforms will be reversed but how rapidly they will be extended.

The Rao government managed to reverse many of India's earlier policies, in full view and without stealth.

When one understands the massive tasks before the reformers after more than three decades of an intensely inward-looking policy framework, the proper analogy seems to be a clean-up after a typhoon. It may seem contrary to complain about what has not been done. It may also seem too technocratic. The reformers did have to negotiate political minefields even to achieve what they did.

Yet, a number of vital tasks remain. Privatisation has barely started, more labour market flexibility must be introduced, imports of consumer goods must be liberalised, and the long-awaited attack on India's appalling illiteracy must start in earnest. The excellent recent budget of Mr P. Chidambaram, the finance minister, managed to maintain the enthusiasm of reformers by offering tax changes but it can do little beyond that. The challenging reforms lurk elsewhere.

• The author is Arthur Lehman professor of economics at Columbia University, and was an adviser to finance minister Manmohan Singh on India's reforms.



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4 INDIA: The economy

INDUSTRIAL POLICY • by Stefan Wagstyl

Inching toward privatisation

Reform of the public sector is dogged by reluctance to give up inefficient practices

The government of India is in the throes of deciding whether to stay in the business of making bread and biscuits. It is also considering whether to continue running a chain of hotels and an out-dated aluminium smelter.

If ministers should decide to sell control of any of these three state-owned companies, it would signal the biggest change in India's public sector enterprises since Jawaharlal Nehru ordered nationalisation of key industries in the early 1950s. But few people in New Delhi expect the government to make so dramatic a change soon; the wheels of public sector policies turn very slowly.

Mr GV Ramakrishna, the civil servant who has recommended the disposals in a wholesale review of state-owned industry, says he has selected the three companies as particularly easy to sell. None is in what even a stout-hearted Nehruvian socialist

would regard as a core activity for public enterprise. But, at the time of writing, no decision to go ahead appears to be in sight. As Mr Ramakrishna, who chairs a newly-created Disinvestment Commission, says: "We are now looking at whether the political will is there."

The commission is the latest of many attempts to reform state-owned industry. Ministers recognised long before the start of the economic liberalisation of the 1990s that publicly-owned companies were a burden on the budget through subsidies for lossmaking enterprises and a drag on the whole economy through their inefficiency.

But neither politicians nor bureaucrats have been willing to surrender the vast pools of patronage that lie in the public sector. Nor have they been ready to contemplate the job cuts which might be involved in raising efficiency to private sector standards.

The World Bank estimates that 25 to 33 per cent of the 2m employees at the 245 central government enterprises might be redundant. Their activities exclude some 3m working in railways, telecommunications and state-owned financial institutions,

which are classed separately. Nehru believed that state-owned industries would help India bolster its political independence with economic self-sufficiency. Under his guidance, and that of his successors, the public sector successfully expanded India's industrial production.

However, Nehru's bid to scale the "towering heights of socialism" came at the price of growing inefficiency. A government-sponsored report of the early 1980s estimated that production costs in state enterprises were 75 per cent higher than in comparable Indian private companies.

With the policy and process of privatisation sweeping the world, Indians began to realise that they were in a blind alley. But with little political support for full-blown market economics, the government has so far mostly limited itself to trying to run the state-owned machine more effectively instead of handing over sections of it to private sector operators.

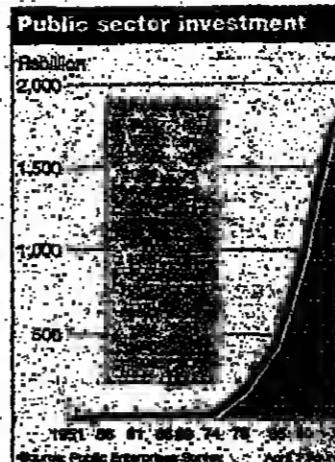
An early flush of enthusiasm brought competition into the airline industry, ending the domestic monopoly of Indian Airlines, resulting in great improvements in quality and

time-keeping have resulted, but the momentum has not been maintained.

The government has made much of its disinvestment policy under which shares in 40 enterprises have been sold in tranches to raise a total of Re100m. Companies which are now traded actively on the stock market include VSNL - the international telecoms carrier, Bharat Electronics, and the Steel Authority of India (SAIL). But while the government has sold up to 45 per cent of a few stocks, the average disposal is under 15 per cent.

Crucially, the government has retained managerial control. This gives ministers and civil servants rights to promote and transfer directors, sometimes leaving posts open for a year and more for lack of decisions. Investment, financing, and even trading plans require approval. A bigger emphasis on profits has improved the financial performance of the public sector in the 1990s, although this has sometimes been achieved simply by raising prices in monopoly services such as electrical power for industry.

In the year to the end of March 1996, public enterprises made net profits of Rs65bn, up sharply from Rs35bn in



1989-90. This has been due entirely to profit gains at some 150 or so profitable enterprises. Little has been done to stanch the red ink at about 100 companies which between them lost Rs24bn in 1995-96, more than double the figures of the late 1980s.

These troubled companies include bankrupt private ones, mainly textile mills, taken over by the state to prevent job losses. They continue to pay wages even though production has been suspended for years.

Other losers include fertiliser companies ruined by government price controls designed to protect farmers. The heaviest lossmaker in this sector is Hindustan Fertilisers Corporation.

which runs a "white elephant" plant at Hardia, near Calcutta. Some 1,500 people report daily for work at the complex, which has not produced a tonne of output since it was commissioned in 1986 because of fundamental design faults.

"We can't keep putting money in a bottomless pit," says Mr Murasoli Maran, the industry minister. But he is unclear how the government might close a lossmaking. "We can't do it at a stroke."

As for privatisation, Mr Maran sees a role for private companies in taking over and turning around troubled state-owned businesses, though why entrepreneurs should agree is by no means clear. He is also prepared to see the privatisation of "non-core and non-strategic areas so long as workers keep job security".

However, Mr Maran says the government should retain control of at least the nine biggest profit-making enterprises, including SAIL, BHEL, the engineering company, and ONGC, the national oil company. "These are our nine gems. Why should we hand them over to anybody?" he says.

Since Mr Maran is regarded as a reformist in the coalition government, even his limited vision meets with suspicion among more conservative ministers. Mr Ramakrishna may wait some time for decisions on his three companies. He denies he is frustrated. He says: "In India, change takes time."

AGRICULTURE • by Quentin Peel

Planting seeds of growth

India needs a second Green Revolution to satisfy growing demand for food

Dr Manohar Singh Gill, India's chief election commissioner, vividly remembers the days in the mid-1980s which are now known as the start of India's Green Revolution.

At the time he was a junior civil servant in his home state of Punjab, when the government took a gamble and decided to buy a shipment of Mexican seed for an untried hybrid wheat.

"We sold the seed in 1966 and in 1967 we got such a massive crop that the chief minister had to shut down all the schools right down to primary, because we couldn't find anywhere to store this bloody wheat," he says with a grin.

The result of that experiment was an increase in crop yields in the Punjab, and in neighbouring Haryana, which saw wheat production leap from around 1.5 tonnes to as much as 4 tonnes per hectare. When new rice seed was imported from the Philippines, it had a similar effect, pushing up yields from 1.2 tonnes to 4 tonnes per hectare.

"After the 1966-67 harvest it spread like wildfire," according to Dr Ashok Gulati, chief economist at the National Council for Applied Economic Research in New Delhi. "There was a scramble for the seeds."

The US wanted to twist our arms over the war with Pakistan in 1965. They taught us one good lesson: that food could be used as a political weapon. The 1965 experience was that we must get rid of PL480."

The question today is whether India can repeat its agricultural revolution to feed its inexorably expanding population. For although the impetus of the hybrid wheat and improved rice seed caused a one-off surge in production, the annual rate of growth in agriculture

has averaged a more modest 3 per cent over the long term.

"People have been talking about a scarcity developing soon of the Green Revolution," according to one international agriculture expert in Delhi. Non-food output, like oil seeds, cotton and sugar, has been increasing much faster than food grain. Production of coarse cereals and pulses, staple foods in the Indian diet, is growing at less than 1 per cent per year.

Although India has ceased to be a major net food importer, there are still 300m to 350m people who do not get enough calories per day for an adequate diet - the largest group of poor people in the world. The problem is not so much that the food is not available for them, as that they have not got the money to buy it. There is growing prosperity in the rural areas, thanks to an



Precious wheat - or sowing seeds?

Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

Dr Gill, who rose through the ranks of the Indian administrative service to become agriculture secretary in New Delhi, is clear that the revolution was not simply a miracle of science.

"The Punjab revolution was a revolution of inputs," he said. "We needed more fertiliser, and we needed more water, and for both we needed more credit."

More than that, Punjab's former chief minister, Mr Sarvar Kalraon, had pushed through a programme of land consolidation, concentrating the proliferation of

smallholdings into 10-acre plots.

The size of land holdings across the rest of the country is tiny, and the average size is coming down: 78 per cent of the peasants with land have less than two hectares. Some 88 per cent are "marginal" producers with less than one hectare.

"The holdings are too small and they don't have the capacity to borrow," said Dr Gulati. "Credit is the life-line, after water. It enables them to buy fertiliser and seeds."

"They also lack the infrastructure, both roads and electricity. They have to rely on diesel generators, which raises their costs."

"I believe all people want regular and assured supply of power more than cheaper power," said Dr Gill. His other great concern is to regulate the use of irrigation.

"We continue with 19th century flood irrigation; it is wasteful of water and damaging to the land. Over the past 50 years our irrigation system should have been totally transformed, with prevention of all wasteful use. This hasn't happened."

Dr Gulati's principal

criticism of government policy is its failure to reverse the in-built pricing bias towards industry. The cost of subsidising fertilisers and electricity to rural areas is more than outweighed by the low producer prices paid to farmers, and the protection given to industry, he argues.

The government's economic liberalisation has at least begun the process to reduce that discrimination.

In spite of the slow progress, Dr Gulati believes that "a huge transfer of income is taking place. The agricultural markets are bubbling with activity. All the advertising is switching to agriculture. The big corporations see it as a future market."

Over the next decade he believes India can maintain the positive results of the Green Revolution, with steady increases in production from the eastern states of the Ganges plain. Over 20 years, he is more cautious.

"If there are no technological breakthroughs, then India could be under pressure again. But I have faith in human knowledge," he says.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT • by Amartya Sen

Education, healthcare needed to beat poverty

Illiteracy delays achievement of tasks set at Nehru's trust with destiny'

It was a thrilling moment. On August 14 1947, on the eve of independence, we glued ourselves to the radio in our little school a hundred miles from Calcutta. It was four years after the terrible Bengal famine of 1943, which gave many of us, for the first time, the enduring thought that "there but for the grace of God go I".

In celebration of independence and a forthcoming democracy, Jawaharlal Nehru's voice beamed out over the radio, telling us about India's "trust with destiny". The task ahead, we were told, included "the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity".

Fifty years is a long time. It is not too soon to ask what came of that trust with destiny, and of the tasks ahead.

The answer is not simple. In line with Nehru's formulation, we can split the evaluation into three fields: the practice of democracy; removal of social inequality and backwardness; and economic progress.

In the first area there are reasons for satisfaction. Elections have continued with regularity and reasonable fairness. The press has remained largely free, civil rights are in place and the military has stayed inside the barracks.

The second field, social progress and equity, has fared much worse. Not quite an immeasurable failure, but certainly a measurable flop.

For every student China sends to the university, India sends six. But while China made remarkable progress towards universal literacy even before the economic reforms in the late 1970s, nearly half of the adult population of India

women are still illiterate. Life expectancy at birth in India has climbed to about 60 years, from close to 30 at the time of independence. But mortality rates differ sharply between classes and between urban and rural areas, with many rural residents far removed from decent medical attention. Inequalities between women and men remain large.

Finally, India's economic progress has been relatively slow, particularly compared with the spectacular performance of east and south-east Asian economies. The growth of gross national product has now speeded up a bit, with recent governments trying to emulate the economies further east by relying more on the market and on international trade, reducing government control of industrial operations and exchange.

There has however been a serious misreading of what has led to the economic success of South Korea, Taiwan, post-reform China, Thailand and other countries in the region.

These countries emphasised international competition and made fine use of the market mechanism. But they also ensured broad-based public participation in economic expansion by promoting good schools and high literacy, good healthcare, widespread land reforms, removal of barriers to economic mobility and some fostering of gender equality, not least through education and the employment of women.

India, too, can achieve high growth of aggregate GNP since there are so many literate people around. It can do particularly well in industries that use India's advantage in higher education and technical training. New centres of technical excellence, such as Bangalore, can prosper and flourish.

Yet even 100 Bangalore would not solve India's poverty and deep-seated inequality.

For this to happen many more people must participate in growth. This will be difficult to achieve across the barriers of illiteracy, ill health, and inequalities in social and economic opportunities. This issue needs more attention than it is receiving.

If the social and economic tasks are so inter-related, what about the linkage with the politics of democracy? It has frequently been claimed that democracy is inimical to fast economic growth. But there's little statistical evidence to confirm this.

Indeed, even India's limited recent success in raising economic growth shows that growth profits more from a friendly economic climate than from an oppressive political one.

India has certainly benefited from the role of democracy in giving the rulers political incentives to act when disasters threaten and when an immediate change in policy is imperative.

India has successfully avoided famines since independence.

Mr Indira Gandhi's brief attempt at suppressing basic political and civil rights and imposing compulsory sterilisation in the 1970s were firmly rejected by the voters.

Even today India is in a better position than China to prevent abuse of coercive power and make quicker changes if and when policies go badly wrong.

Democracy also gives an opportunity to the opposition to press for policy change even when the problem is chronic rather than acute and disastrous. Then the weakness of Indian social policies on education, healthcare, land reform and gender equity is as much a failure of opposition parties as of governments. Committed political leaders in authoritarian countries have often achieved more in these respects.

India's educational and health achievements of Maoist China illustrate this. Only in some parts of

India have social problems been brought effectively into the political arena. The state of Kerala is the clearest example. Among its achievements are:

- Life expectancy of 72 years - 74 years for women
- Close to universal literacy

A fertility rate of 1.8 - similar to that in Britain and France and lower than in China, in spite of the last's use of compulsion.

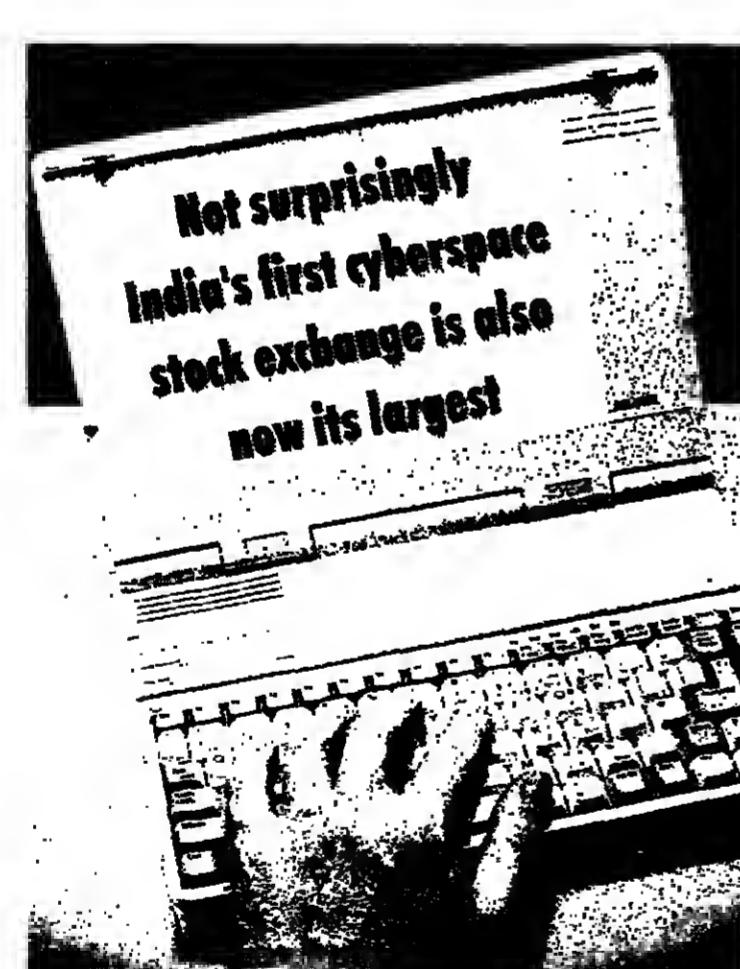
Kerala has improved the quality of life of both women and men dramatically. Yet it has been very slow in reforming its anti-market economic policies. People from Kerala have easily earned good money working elsewhere, often abroad. But economic opportunity at home has remained limited. This has not prevented Kerala from having one of the fastest reductions of poverty in India, but its full economic potential remains unrealised.

The road ahead will depend much on combining preservation of democracy with rapid social progress and further economic reform. It needs to expand the scope for competition, incentives and openness, while removing barriers to mobility and equity.

India has suffered in the past half century from ignoring the need for such an integrated approach. The tendency towards partial neglect, especially of social development, has not been adequately reversed.

Since in a democracy like India changes have to take place through public discussion and debate, the first step is to understand the need for an integrated approach. What Nehru called "the great triumphs and achievements that await us" will continue to wait unless this interdependence is more widely realised - in theory and practice.

The author is Lamont University Professor and Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University.



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6 INDIA: Politics

OVERVIEW • by Mark Nicholson

Small parties hold key as Congress fades

Many see a switch to the federalism intended by the founding constitution, which was distorted under decades of Congress party rule

Holding an election for India's 600m voters is akin to holding simultaneous polls in Russia, North America and most of Europe. Not only is India the biggest democracy – some constituencies embrace 2m voters – it is also among the most culturally, regionally, linguistically and theologically diverse. A complex electoral verdict might be expected.

This is precisely what India's voters delivered in last year's general election. No party won a majority in the 543-seat parliament. Instead, united in the aim of keeping from power the "communal" Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), more than a dozen small and ideologically

disparate parties combined to form the current United Front government.

For the time being, India is governed by a minority coalition which commands only 176 seats. It is supported from "the outside" by both the Congress party, which was handed an historic defeat in the last elections, and India's main communist party, the West Bengal-based Communist party (Marxist). Such complex arrangements seem to be here to stay.

Most pundits conclude that India has entered a period of coalition politics. No Indian party has won a governing majority in 13 years. The last to do so was Congress, which won 415 seats and 48 per cent of the popular vote in

1984, in a mood of national consolidation and sympathy after the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

But the era of the 111-year-old Congress party is passing. The party which led India to independence and had governed for all but five years since, is now in secular decline. Its share of the vote has fallen at each election since 1984, dipping below 30 per cent last May.

The party's traditional internal coalition of upper castes, Dalits – the lowest Indian caste, once known as "untouchables" – and Moslems has splintered, often into new regional and caste parties. Its motifs of "secularism" and, latterly, economic reform, have been appropriated by such groups.

Only the BJP now believes it can supplant Congress as a national governing party. It raised its tally of seats in the last poll to 161 from 120 in the

1991 elections, eclipsing Congress's 140 to make it the biggest single party. Its leaders believe it can nudge close to outright majority in the next elections. But the BJP, too, has recognised the need for coalition allies.

BJP support is heavily concentrated in western and northern states. It has already forged alliances with regional parties in Punjab and Maharashtra state, and is courting southern regional parties with an eye to the next elections. It is such smaller parties which provide the real dynamism to India's changing political map.

There are, very broadly, two main trends to watch. One is the bitter and unresolved battle of caste-based parties in such big, poor and populous northern states as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Both the Bahujan Samaj party, crusading for the "empowerment" of Dalits, and the

Samajwadi party, which draws support largely from the non-Brahmin "backward castes" of northern India, are vying for power in Uttar Pradesh, while also seeking to extend their reach through their caste bases and across state borders.

Elsewhere, in the north-east and most particularly in the south, strong regional Telugu parties have arisen, such as the Telugu Desam party in Andhra Pradesh and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Tamil Maanila Congress parties in Tamil Nadu.

Their emergence is in part a reaction to the Delhi-cautious of the once-dominant Congress, many of whose policies the new regional parties have adopted, while also offering closer accountability to voters. Their growing political strength has been given economic impetus by the decentralisation offered by India's six-year-old economic

reforms, which have handed the states new economic incentives and powers.

Such caste and regional parties comprise the core of the United Front. Whether the fractious Front remains united or not, its component parties and other smaller groups will almost certainly determine the shape of India's next government.

Many see this as returning India to the intended federalism of its founding constitution, one which had been distorted under decades of Congress rule by the combined effects of Mrs Indira Gandhi's centralising political grip and her statist economic policies.

The new regional political barons will be reluctant to cede political gains. As the chief minister of one state puts it: "Before, chief ministers were chosen by the government at the centre. Now it is the chief ministers who will decide who is to be prime minister."

VIEWPOINT

Partition clouded moment of glory

Moral power of Mahatma Gandhi failed to leave a legacy of secularism

At a prayer meeting in 1946 Mahatma Gandhi said: "Before partitioning India, my body will have to be cut into two pieces." Yet a year after this emphatic statement, he urged the Congress party to accept partition.

India attained the independence for which Gandhi had fought so long, but in the process it became divided. Nearly 1m people died in the carnage which followed, and ever since India has suffered persistent tension and violence between its Hindu and Moslem communities.

Mr Eric Hobsbawm, the historian, wrote: "We can see, with the wisdom of hindsight, the partition of India along religious lines established a sinister precedent for the world's future."

For Gandhi, the moment of glory was also a moment of colossal shame. The blood-

letting in communal riots marked the failure of his life-long mission to foster Hindu-Moslem unity. To the question "How should Hindu-Moslem question be tackled?" Gandhi admitted: "I must own defeat on that point."

His answer to communal problems was to use his moral power to try to bring peace, but his technique began to produce diminishing returns.

A few months before independence Gandhi went to Noakhali, now in Bangladesh, in an attempt to bring communal peace. Moslems boycotted his prayer meetings. At the time of independence in August 1947 he said of his own peace mission to Calcutta to try to prevent rioting: "What was regarded as the Calcutta miracle has proved to be a nine-day wonder."

It is not surprising that towards the end of his life Gandhi felt defeated and dejected. On his last birthday he said: "If I had the impudence openly to declare my

wish to live 125 years, I must have the humility, under changed circumstances, openly to shed that wish. I have done no more, no less. This has not been done in a spirit of depression. The more apt term, perhaps, is helplessness."

Jawaharlal Nehru and Saradar Vallabhbhai Patel, respectively the first prime minister and home minister, are sometimes blamed for acceptance of partition. Those who do so present Gandhi as a helpless old man who could not say "no" to disciples restless to enjoy the comfort of office.

But the question of partition did not arise all of a sudden. It was in the making for many years, during which Gandhi was effectively in command of the Congress movement. Partition was accepted by Gandhi and the Congress because the alternative was seen to be Hindu-Moslem civil war.

Yet they cannot have been right if they thought that the end result of such conflict would be



Mahatma Gandhi: mistake over religion and state Camera Press

more ugly than partition.

Even Gandhi did not always succeed in separating religion and politics. He failed to oppose electorates separated along religious lines. And in the 1920s he supported the Khalifa movement, a pan-Islamic movement centred in Turkey, to win the support of Moslems in India.

Later he realised his mistake and said: "If I were a dictator, religion and state would be separate. I swear

by my religion, I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The state has nothing to do with it."

He could not live down the Khalifa image, however. The mixing of religion with politics was legitimised in the eyes of some people.

The Khalifa movement also resulted in a woolly-headed approach of the nationalist movement towards communalism. It was not sufficiently appreciated that communalism naturally excludes some religious groups from the process of nation-making. Gandhi tried to co-opt Moslem communalism into the secular nationalist mainstream, but this attempt was bound to fail as have subsequent attempts by Indian governments.

More than 100 years ago Indians set out on the historic task of building a secular nation. For 50 years Indians blamed the British for putting roadblocks in their path. For the past 50 years, they have been their own masters. Yet the demon of divisive communalism still plagues the nation. Gandian secularism is not standing the people in good stead.

• The author is consulting editor of the Telegraph, Calcutta

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, wanted to build a "mobile mansion" of freedom. Here, we reproduce the speech he gave to the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi on August 14, 1947

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redress our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially.

At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. That at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again.

The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon us, as members of a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the

birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the ones we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell."

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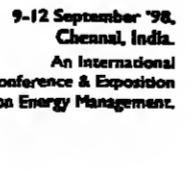
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Second



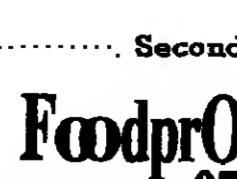
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JAYAWARDEN

DEMOCRACY • by T.N. Ninan

Does democracy work? Yes!

In a society that is sadly unequal, the vote has brought with it a sense of equality

If anyone should ask "Does democracy work in India?" the answer is yes. Elections take place regularly. The people choose their rulers. Governments are thrown out.

Yes, because India remains an open society in which grievances are aired and redress is possible. Yes, because the system is responsive. As the economist Mr Amartya Sen has said, China has had millions of deaths resulting from famine under communist rule, but this has not happened in India because even one report of a "starvation death" causes uproar in parliament.

Yes, because the system has assimilated and absorbed. Violent communist groups, separatists and other assorted insurgents have slowly been made part of the system. Nothing other than an open, unshaded democracy could have done this and kept together the most diverse country in the world.

Yes, because although Mahatma Gandhi used non-violence to bring an end to British rule, India is a very violent society. Caste killings, ethnic clashes and communal riots are an ever-present reality. Democratic methods provide a non-violent way of dealing with conflicts.

Yes, because there is very real and continuing debate about the big issues: secularism versus communalism, right versus left, centralism versus federalism. And because, even in a society that is still sadly unequal, the vote has brought with it a fundamental sense of equality.

But one can compile another, very depressing list. India has more wretchedly poor, more illiterates, more blind and more homeless than any society on earth. China may have had mass



Democracy in action: Indians queue to vote at polling booth

Photo: Marcus Denyer

famine deaths under the madness of Mao Zedong, but India has many more malnourished.

Governments do get thrown out regularly, but governance is poor and getting worse. Mr B.R. Neheru, the distinguished civil servant and nephew of the first prime minister, says in his memoirs that India at independence had a better administration than many developed countries. Today it is below par in Asia.

Petty bureaucratic tyranny over ordinary citizens is an every-day reality but, strangely, not an electoral issue. Corruption is endemic, and a constant topic of debate even as the canker spreads.

It is no surprise then, that almost any service that is supposed to be provided by government is a disaster. The water in the cities is often not safe for drinking; failures in public health cause epidemics and less than one-sixth of the money spent on "anti-poverty programmes" reaches the poor, as Mr

Rajiv Gandhi once said. The police force is widely seen as a lawless body of extortions and worse.

The problem, as Mr Manmohan Singh, a former finance minister, has said, is the lack of an "establishment" in India - a class that defines its interest in a very long-term context, certainly much longer than the politician's horizon of the next election. And since anything goes in an election, from illegal funding of campaigns to promising an endless stream of subsidies, the currency of politics has been debased.

Politicians have promised and delivered free water and free electricity, and even written off bank loans. The endless debate never focuses on the question: who will pay?

The socialist ideal - still an essential part of the language of politics - means taking from the rich and giving to the poor. But the rich figured out ways of not giving, and the state ended up trying to provide freebies. Subsidies in the system now account for more than one-

seventh of gross domestic product. Very little of this goes to the poor.

The real takers therefore - and this lies at the core of the hypocrisy in the system - have become more assertive, so that even the rich and powerful know that the law can catch up with them.

Media penetration has increased exponentially:

there are more than 500 television sets in the country, on which you can watch a prime minister losing a confidence vote at the end of a marvellous debate.

Newspapers are enjoying a rapid increase in circulation.

The people now know and see much more, which is one reason why an election is becoming more difficult.

Even economic policy is becoming more rational. Private operators are being allowed to challenge government-owned providers. Pricing decisions are more market-determined, and with the new spirit of federalism, government is getting closer to the people.

So, however much it may seem like anarchy, it does work.

• The author is editor of Business Standard.

economic rationality. Even today, politicians criticise the reform process in the name of the poor.

Perhaps the greatest divide in India is not so much between rich and poor, but between those who mean what they say and those who do not. Ministers have legislated tax levels that have been the highest in the world, but "forgotten" to pay their own taxes for years. Parliamentarians will demand the use of Hindi in all government offices while sending their own children to English medium schools. Democracy rules even as democracy reigns.

The negative trends have undermined the legitimacy of the political system. People cheer when the courts start at last to turn their attention to politicians. Yet scandals in the press that would have caused an almighty uproar a decade ago now evoke a yawn. Everyone knows that the system stinks.

But it would be completely wrong to become a pessimist. In many ways the system is becoming stronger. The courts have become more assertive, so that even the rich and powerful know that the law can catch up with them.

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• The author is editor of Business Standard.

CONGRESS PARTY • by Prem Shankar Jha

Death throes debase a nation's politics

The party which fought for freedom seems unable to regain former glory

In the December 1984 elections, the Congress party under its fledgling leader Mr Rajiv Gandhi secured an unprecedented 48.1 per cent of the vote and 415 out of 542 parliamentary seats.

Not even in the heyday of Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, had the party achieved such an overwhelming victory.

Mr Gandhi's victory seemed to epitomise the emergence of a new generation of leaders in the party.

On becoming prime minister seven weeks earlier after the assassination of his mother, Mrs Indira Gandhi (Nehru's daughter), his first act had been to bring in a new group of young advisers in their forties and early fifties - professional managers and technocrats.

The election results showed that the country overwhelmingly approved. The party which had led India to independence seemed not only to have had a second birth, but to have attained the apogee of its power.

The truth was different.

The Congress party had been dying slowly for 17 years, its death throes had transformed and debased Indian politics, creating problems with which the country is still wrestling.

The 1984 result was a false dawn: in 1989, the party won only 198 seats; in 1996, it was reduced to 140 seats and a mere 29 per cent of the vote.

The decline of the Congress began shortly after the death of Nehru in 1964 but became apparent during the 1987 election. The party's share of the vote dropped to 40.8 per cent and it won 283 seats, just 10 more than it needed for a majority. It lost

its majority in the Assembly

elections in six states and was ousted from power in five of them.

Over the next 18 months its leaders took a series of decisions that stalled the development of multi-party politics as well as intra-party democracy, and paved the way for the criminalisation of politics and the rise of sycophancy.

The first move was to pull down four non-Congress state governments in northern India by triggering defections from coalitions in power. This was done by approaching an influential group in each coalition, led by an ambitious politician who felt he had not received sufficient recognition.

Had their development not been aborted, stable coalitions might have developed in each case which might have delivered a three-party system in India. But in 1987, and in the years that followed, Congress repeatedly nipped this possibility in the bud.

Congress now seems unable to respond to reverses. After defeats in a host of state elections in December 1994, the party had a full 18 months in which to take remedial action before the 1996 general elections. But it did nothing and suffered an historic defeat.

After that defeat, Mr Rao paid the price for his inaction, but the only person the party could agree upon as leader was the 75-year-old Mr Sitaram Kesri, previously party treasurer. In April 1997, Mr Kesri withdrew support from the 13-party United Front coalition and insisted that Mr H.D. Deve Gowda, the prime minister, should resign. Mr Kesri demanded that Congress be part of the next coalition.

As these funds had to be unaccounted, this opened the way for holders of "black money" - money held outside the regulated economy to evade tax or foreign exchange controls - to enter the party.

Thus, in attempting to destroy the opposition, Mrs Gandhi made her own party less governable. First she

split the Congress in 1969 to purge it of powerful organisational leaders. Then she misused Article 356 of the constitution, which allows the central government to dismiss state governments in cases when the administration has broken down, to break the power of the state leaders of her party.

The last attempt to reform the party nod renew its vitality was made by Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, who became prime minister in 1991. Mr Rao tried to get a genuinely elected Congress Working Committee - a 21-member policy-making body. But he was forced to abandon the attempt when he discovered that the two main caueous leaders had combined to defeat his list of candidates with the understanding that they would share the spoils after they had ousted him from the premiership.

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Thong Mr Deve Gowda was replaced, Mr Kesri proved incapable of striking a commanding posture, and the public saw his move as the final bid by a corrupt and incompetent party to grab power.

• The author is a political columnist and former news paper editor



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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU • by Shekhar Gupta

Visionary leader's legacy disappoints

Fundamentals were overlooked in a race to make up India's lost time

It is cruel to make an assessment of Jawaharlal Nehru's legacy just when India's recent leaders, none of them national figures in his mould, have spent the past decade dismantling it.

The question is, had Nehru been alive and possibly still running the government, would he have seen India differently?

Nehru was a romantic, a man far ahead of his times in the poor and largely illiterate nation he inherited, and intellectually in a league vastly superior to most of his peers. The resultant contradictions continue to dog his legacy and memory.

Here was a committed democrat whose very intellectual stature, combined with popular adulation, virtually gave him the status of a dictator. Most of his con-

temporaries in national politics, and within the Congress, were overwhelmed by his personality.

Nehru took immense pride in native Indian enterprise and creativity and yet, unfortunately, will be remembered now as the founding father of its hopelessly inefficient public sector and, more damagingly, socialist mindset.

Independence, democracy and modernism were his three passions. But philosophically the last of the three was the dominant theme in his ideal, modern world - democracy and its attendant freedoms would follow as natural corollaries.

As the decline of colonialism was still a new phenomenon, there were no

tested models available for him either to emulate or eschew. A lesser man would have balked at the enormity of the challenge: moulding a new nation-state consisting of hundreds of fending principalities, caught up first in a communal holocaust, two wars with its newly-acquired neighbour (Pakistan) and then a great human migration that carried on well into the 1950s.

Nehru not only tried but also believed passionately that he and his people could set an example for the other newly-independent countries. Perhaps one reason it did not quite work the way Nehru had dreamed was the naivety which romanticism

brings in its wake.

He did travel around the country, inaugurating new dams, public sector steel plants and power units, calling them temples of modern India, but overlooked the fact none of this was going to lead to sustainable economic growth unless private enterprise grew alongside.

Maybe Nehru would have seen through this now. But should not a leader of his intellect have been wiser in the first place?

Not even Nehru's harshest critics can deny that his heart was in the right place.

He understood that India needed to industrialise rapidly. He built its great scientific institutions, personally backed nuclear research, and even laid the foundations of its armament industry. But somewhere in this great rush to make up for the lost centuries, he forgot that none of this was going to be possible without harnessing India's real

strength - the remarkable tradition of free trade and enterprise.

Nehru's greatest flaw was the almost fatal romanticism that marred his world view.

In his ideal world there

could be no wars, no military blocs, no border disputes and no issues that could not be settled through negotiations. In such a world, therefore, there could also be no real security threats to his own nation.

He worried about Pakistan rapidly modernising its armies, as a US ally, but did not know how to cope with it. So he began a painful tilt towards the Socialist bloc, as the West evolved into a natural adversary.

But the war with China in 1962 heightened Nehru's growing feeling of frustration and inadequacy.

• The author is Chief Editor of *The Indian Express*

INDIRA GANDHI • by Stanley Wolpert

Daughter became a focus of love and hate

She dreamed of leading as Joan of Arc did - but never imagined a death as shocking

Mrs Indira Gandhi's father, Jawaharlal Nehru, called her "darling Indu boy". Her Congress president brother called her "India". His mantra was "India is India, and India is India". In the aftermath of the 1971 Bangladesh war many simple folk worshipped her as "Mother Goddess".

More sophisticated Indians hated her totalitarian streak - especially when, to save her own political fortune, she suspended India's constitution and proclaimed a national emergency that lasted almost two years. To keep herself out of prison she locked thousands of innocents behind bars.

One of those she incarcerated was Jayaprakash Narayan, Nehru's old socialist friend, who later labelled her a "dictator". Another leader she ordered arrested was Morarji Desai, who imprisoned her in turn soon after he became premier five years later.

Mrs Gandhi's arrest and brief detention, however, converted her from tyrant to martyr in the public's eye, and helped her to win re-election a year later, reclaiming the crown she

had tarnished and disgraced during her Emergency Raj.

As Nehru's sole heir she had inherited his nationalist as well as socialist passion with his fortune. From many imperial prison cells Nehru poured out his British public school learning to "Indu boy" in weekly letters on "world history", training her to take up the torch of political power.

Mrs Gandhi proved almost as adept at winning power as her more brilliant Papu had, inheriting the premiership he had held for 17 years, soon after his death in 1964. She enjoyed it for 15 years, with only a brief interregnum. Her gender proved no obstacle to a swift rise to the top of Delhi's slippery pole.

She inherited all of her father's socialist faith in economic planning and the Soviet Union, but little of his wiser admiration for British parliamentary democracy and western liberal justice. She believed she knew what was best for India, and may have tried sincerely to move its polity ahead at a more "efficient" pace, making its "trains run on time" during her Emergency Raj, fuelled by repression and fear.

But she damaged many of India's government institutions, including the once coveted civil administrative service and the independent judiciary ser-

vice. By intimidating and summarily transferring senior members of both to independent services for selfish and impure political reasons, Mrs Gandhi crippled India's polity, even as she dealt an almost fatal blow to its constitution from June 1975 to April 1977.

Her most important foreign policy legacy was the liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971. In the face of US support for West Pakistan's martial actions to silence the nationalist Awami League opposition in East Pakistan, Mrs Gandhi turned to the Soviet Union for arms and the United Nations for political backing as the Indian army fought the war, which brought about an independent Bangla-

desch. As India's army liberated Bangladesh with Russian tanks and artillery that December, capturing 90,000 Pakistani troops, Mrs Gandhi now emerged triumphant, hailed as India's greatest leader in war as well as peace.

But the tragic legacy of that Bangla-

desch war was that India and Pakistan started immediately to develop nuclear capability. Their wily leaders, Mrs Gandhi and Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, vowed never again to be at the mercy of any external power. In 1974 Mrs Gandhi demonstrated that India had won south Asia's nuclear race by triggering a nuclear blast under Raja-

than's desert, powerful enough to be felt in Pakistan's most populous city, Karachi.

But with rampant inflation, led by Opec oil prices, and stagnation in virtually every area of India's economy, vocal criticism of "Madam" and her "corrupt" and "self-serving" government grew louder, spreading with labour unrest across all of North India.

India's left wing Congress (I) was soon faced with a formidable coalition of political opponents to the right and left, a coalition that called itself the Janata Morcha (People's Front), led by JP Narayan and Morarji Desai. In early June 1975 she was faced with her own conviction on two counts of campaign malpractice, the mandatory punishment for which would deny her election office for six years.

Instead of gracefully stepping down, Mrs Gandhi listened to her ambitious younger son, Sanjay, whose brazen advice was to cut the power to Delhi's national press district, scrap the constitution, and proclaim a national emergency - assuming dictatorial powers, banning every opposition party and throwing all her "enemies" into jail.

That was a new low for India, but even Mrs Gandhi soon felt obliged to hold fresh elections, hoping that all the lies her controlled press told about her "popularity" might be at least half

true. India's outraged electorate proved itself wiser than Madam and Son, voting them out of power in 1977.

But bickering within the Janata Party and Morarji's mistake in arresting her brought India back for a second term. Her dynastic arrogance, however, and her fatal error in launching Operation Bluestar, sending army tanks and troops to the most sacred grounds of Amritsar's Golden Temple in June 1984, triggered her assassination by two of her own Sikh bodyguards that October.

Three of India's darkest days followed, with the disgraceful massacre of thousands of innocent Sikhs in Delhi and across north India. Delhi was left burning, defenceless, dishonoured. A month later, however, Madam's other son, Rajiv, won a landslide victory for the Congress party he now led: his brother had been killed in an aircraft crash. The sympathy vote for his mother gave the dynasty a few more years of power.

Mrs Gandhi's reign must harshly and cruelly tested the strength of India's democratic pluralistic polity, which happily proved too resilient and deep-rooted for Mrs Gandhi to destroy.

• The author is Professor of History at UCLA, California, and author of several books on south Asia, most recently a biography of Nehru.



Indira Gandhi: Inherited twin passions

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FINANCIAL TIMES TUESDAY JUNE 24 1997

IX

INDIA: Politics 9

BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY • by Mark Nicholson

Auguries strong for nationalists

Victory may be by default rather than endorsement of policies

After several years of minority governments, cobbled coalitions and fractious political manoeuvring at the centre, India is ready to elect a strong, united, and ably-led national government.

That, anyway, is the belief among leaders of the Bharatiya Janata party, which emerged from India's last elections as the biggest party, with 161 seats. They suggest the Hindu nationalist party will emerge from the next election in a position to govern.

The auguries are good. Recent opinion polls and local election results suggest support for the BJP has grown since last year's elections. Some surveys suggest its share of the vote might rise from 21 per cent last year towards the likely share of a diminishing Congress party, perhaps 25 per cent.

Most encouraging of all for the BJP is the disarray among India's other "national" parties. Congress appears in precipitous decline. The Janata Dal, the core of the current United Front coalition government, is wracked with feuding between its baronial leaders in Bihar.

So, confident that the ideologically-disparate UP will rip itself apart within the next year, the BJP is bracing for early elections. "Indians are waking up and saying 'Let's pull this thing together,'" says Mr Jaswant Singh, a party leader.

But, for all this, there is no apparent fervour for the BJP, and certainly no sign of the "Hindu wave" of the late 1980s which propelled the party from just two seats in the 1984 elections to 86 in 1989 and 120 in 1991. If the BJP emerges in a position to

govern, the signs are this will be more by default than any ringing endorsement of its policies.

This in itself raises questions about how much further the party can go.

No Indian party, excepting perhaps the communists, offers a clearer political identity. Under its defining motto of "Hinduva" – a quasi-cultural, quasi-religious appeal to "Indianness" – the BJP stands for a strong, unified Indian nation.

Its proponents say this is an ideology of unification and Indian identity. Its critics brand it an exclusive Hindu philosophy, a "communal" and divisive thinking which, to define itself at all, requires the categorising of an "other" – Moslems and Pakistanis most commonly, but including the US, the west and others.

Controversially, party leaders have been in the vanguard of moves to build Hindu temples on sacred sites occupied by Islamic mosques. The epitome was the campaign in the late 1980s to build a temple on the site of the Babri Masjid mosque at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, in Hindu mythology the birthplace of the god Ram.

Although party leaders distance themselves from the destruction of Babri Masjid on December 6 1992, there is evidence that BJP leaders were complicitous in preparing and urging on the hundreds of thousands of zealots who ransacked the structure. Some senior BJP leaders stood and watched the ugly spectacle.

But, whatever its involvement, December 6 proved a defining moment for the BJP. It marked the crest of the "Hindu wave", a surge of political sentiment with complex sources. In part, analysts suggest, it derived from a feeling of "minorityism" among Hindus in the so-called "Hindu belt" of north India, chiefly in Uttar Pradesh state, spurred by

feelings that the Congress party had started offering "appeasing" policies to the Moslem minority.

But many saw the tide arising from a growing political fear and anger among upper caste Hindus at the policies introducing mandatory quotas of government jobs for lower, "backward" castes – and to the rising political assertiveness of lower castes in general.

The BJP's core constituency has tended to be among upper caste, Brahmin Hindus. It still tends to be dominated by urban and mercantile classes – one reason why it favours market-oriented policies. But for all its efforts, the party has had trouble spreading its message more widely.

Although its leaders strongly dispute it, the issue of caste may pose one of the BJP's chief problems in sustaining its drive to replace Congress as India's "natural" governing party. The BJP has in recent years won a series of state elections across a swathe of north and west India, but in many of its key states internal battles have tarnished its cherished image as a "party with a difference", meaning a "cadre-based" party more disciplined than Congress.

Elitism and selectivity has been at the core of the BJP's success. Much of its reputation for "discipline" rests on the influence in the party of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a cultlike, dedicated and hierarchical brotherhood formed in the 1920s and devoted to Hindu revivalism. The RSS claims to be a "cultural" movement and apolitical, but almost all the party's national leaders are or have been senior RSS figures. The hundreds of thousands of RSS members provide the heart of the party's grassroots strength.

But, as the party has expanded, so the number of non-RSS members has grown. One of the party's chief challenges, therefore, will be to retain its distinctive "discipline" and ideological purity, while also expanding its mass base.

Another will be its attempts to win support outside its traditional heartlands, particularly in the south. The BJP won only six seats of 131 in the southern states last year.

The 1996 elections produced a strong showing for a host of regional parties. But BJP leaders say this represents only a "temporary" political dislocation, and is a by-product of decaying Congress party support.

They say this of necessity, since the basis of the BJP's ideology rests on its unifying appeal to central themes of Indian nationalism.

"It is a very unitary, centralised party, ill-suited to regionalism and regional decision-making," says Mr Praful Bidwai, a political columnist. "It is designed entirely to replace the Congress party as part of a national two-party political system."

The BJP is thus pitched directly against this apparent trend of regionalisation. But it believes Indians will

tire of weak coalitions of caste and regional parties at the centre in favour of strong, stable, central governance. Many regional parties, its leaders believe, will evaporate. "The process of synthesis has already started in Indian politics," says Mr Singh.

Pragmatism, however, has induced the party to forge some alliances with smaller regional parties, in Maharashtra and Punjab state, and with the low-caste Bahujan Samaj party in Uttar Pradesh. If the BJP does come to power after the next elections, it will almost certainly have to do so with some support from regional groups.

Whether the BJP can govern alone, however, will remain in question. Many believe that assuming power with the help of allies after the next elections might help mute some of the party's more aggressively pro-Hindu tendencies and potentially divisive policies.

Should it ever capture power on its own, India might face a very stern test of exactly how inclusive the BJP's ideology of "Hinduva" would be.



Flying the nationalist flag: a BJP rally in Bihar
Photo: Marcus Clarke

PROFILE Phoolan Devi, Bandit Queen

The outlaw who hung up her guns for politics

Phoolan Devi, Bandit Queen turned member of parliament, looks like a middle-class Indian matron these days. Colourful sari and lipstick long ago replaced her rifle and red bandanna.

She lives with her husband in a spacious government house and owns her own home in New Delhi, worlds away from the rural village of her birth and from the inhospitable ravines of northern India where she ran with her gang.

Ms Devi, elected an MP last year, is learning to negotiate the corridors of power and represent her constituents in the state of Uttar Pradesh – in spite of being illiterate.

"I find it astonishing," she says of her metamorphosis. Born poor and low-caste as a member of the Mallah boatmen community, Ms Devi was married at 11 and rejected by her village after fleeing her abusive older husband. Kidnapped by dacoits, India's modern-day bandits, she was forced into an outlaw's life in her late teens and lived for years in the rocky ravines of Uttar Pradesh, looting villages and fleeing the police.

She says she was captured by upper-caste dacoits in 1980 after watching her gang-leader lover die by their hands. She was gang-raped, beaten for days on end, and paraded from village to village.

Next year, Ms Devi allegedly led her own gang in a massacre of 22 upper-caste Thakurs in the sleepy village of Behmai.

She surrendered in 1983 after two years on the run and was jailed for 11 years on 50 murder charges, although she was never convicted.

The Bandit Queen was a living legend even before her surrender. Her story was snatched up by the international media and became the subject of a best-selling book and a controversial film, as well as her own autobiography.

The Indian press glorified her bleak and violent life. Tall tales of her ferocity and courage abounded. Two years after her release in 1994, she was elected to parliament as the protégé of Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, now India's defence minister and former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Portrayed as heroine of the downtrodden or an opportunistic villain, Ms Devi is one of the most controversial figures in India.

Ms Margaret Alva, a former minister and a member of the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of parliament, says: "Phoolan is a woman of courage who will be an inspiration to those who've been used by a male-dominated society and caste-dominated local leaders. She fought back against a society that failed to give her justice or protection. Her actions were justified and I have every respect for her."



Phoolan Devi: gone is the bandana; in are lipstick and colourful saris
Photo: Les Vaughan

Others, however, have questioned Ms Devi's claims to be a Robin Hood figure, taking from the rich and giving to the poor. They cite instances of her gang beating up innocent women and children in their village raids.

The precise involvement of Ms Devi in the Behmai massacre remains a mystery. Accounts differ, and she herself has made contradictory statements. "Whatever I did, I did right," she maintained in an interview with the Financial Times.

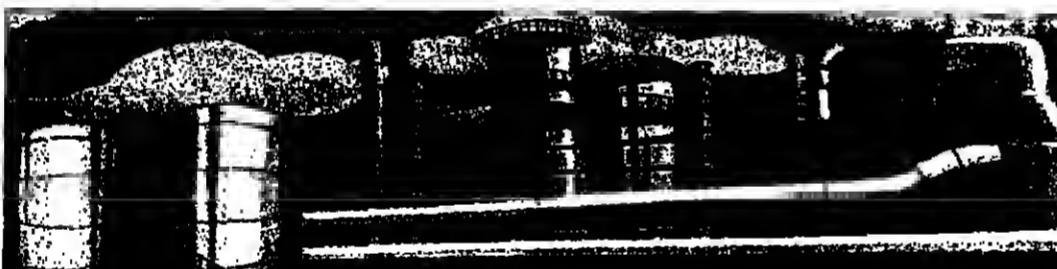
Ms Devi sees herself as a victim of circumstance with no options. "What could I have done differently? There was no other way, when the dacoits took me away and made me a dacoit. If I could do anything differently, I would not be born a girl in a poor family."

Biographers and journalists say Ms Devi is an emotional, volatile person who changes her story regularly. But the wildcat who surrendered in 1983 has mellowed after her long incarceration and relentless publicity. Friends say she lives quietly. She accepts invitations to conferences and attends parliamentary meetings. She spends time with her family and plays for hours with her sister's children – she is unable to have children of her own.

Of her hopes and dreams, she says: "That was lost in my childhood. Now my life is whatever good I can do for poor women and backward caste people."

Some people doubt her efficacy, by her as completely exploited, by her husband, by politicians, and without the skills to cope," says one social activist. "If you talk to her, she's really not equipped to be an MP. I don't know who the real Phoolan is today. She has always been a refugee and she still is a refugee."

Lisa Vaughan



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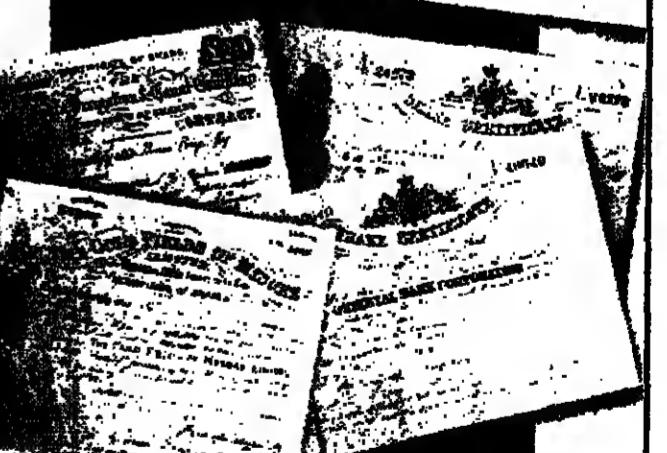
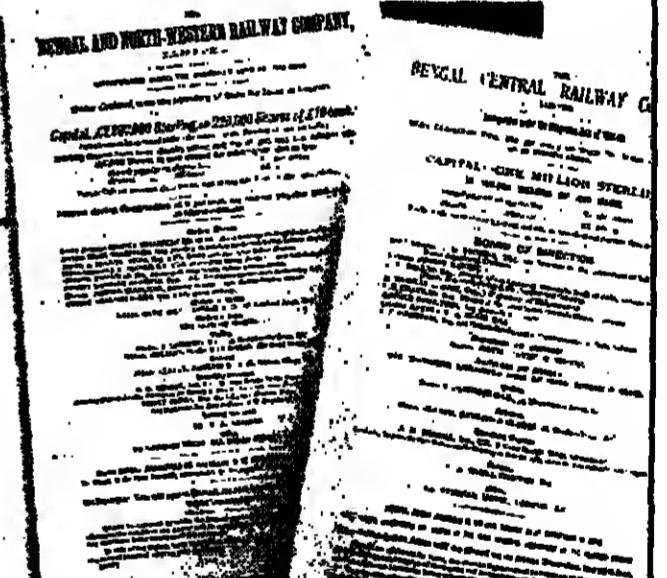
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10 INDIA: Politics

HINDUISM • by David Housego

Politicians fan pride in religion

Nationalism has put secular values and institutions under pressure in recent years

Speakers at Hindu nationalist rallies have a much rehearsed demagogic formula for stirring the emotions of the large crowds that often gather to hear them.

They throw at them this deceptively innocent question: "Why in a Hindu country, can we not say we are proud to be Hindus?" The crowds thunder back their defiance of India's secular constitution which forbids the use of religion for political purposes. "We are proud to be Hindus," they proclaim.

Before independence, Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders urged on their countrymen the prime importance of defining their political identity by their membership of the new nation state.

They were first and foremost Indian nationalists. This took precedence over whatever other ties they might have as Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, or Christians to particular religions; or as members of different caste groups; or to different regions or princely states.

Nehru accorded priority to the nationalist interpretation of political identity as a means of mobilising Indian public opinion against the British. It also seemed the only way of uniting a country of such size and of such immense linguistic, cultural and social diversity.

For the first four decades of independence, the classic

nationalist view of political identity went relatively unchallenged. Over the past decade, however, it has come increasingly under attack from the growing power and assertiveness of the Hindu nationalist movement, which has advanced what Professor Amartya Sen, the development economist, calls "the priority of a Hindu identity". Religion, in its eyes, is a defining element in what it means to be an Indian.

Over the long term it seems most unlikely that there will be a sustainable electoral majority in India for transforming the country into a theocratic Hindu state – a counterpart to the Islamic state in neighbouring Pakistan. But the strength of the BJP, which has emerged as the largest single party in parliament and formed the government in leading states such as Maharashtra, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, has left Moslems apprehensive about their future, while raising questions among Hindus about the politicisation of their religion and potential conflicts with other economic and social goals.

Hinduism is much more difficult to define than Christianity or Islam, which have clearly recognised bodies of doctrine and ritual. C.J. Fuller, who has written the most authoritative book on popular Hinduism, sees its central feature as the gesture of *namaskar*, or greeting Hindus, in greeting or in parting from one another, raise their hands, their palms held together and their fingers pointing upward. This gesture has been an important force for conservatism in India. It helps to explain why India has escaped the revolutions and social upheavals that

approaching the image of a deity.

Fuller sees this as revealing two aspects of Hinduism which give it its unique character and strongly differentiate it from Christianity and Islam. In Hinduism, there is no clear separation between the human and the divine. The same gestures are used by ordinary individuals among themselves and also in addressing their gods and goddesses who fill this world with their presence.

Hindus live in an easy relationship with their gods, asking them to intervene in their lives, taking food to their images in the temples, garlanding them with flowers as they would a respected neighbour, and washing them before important events. They equally believe that in each human there is an aspect of the divine – a tiny bit of God – which they acknowledge in lifting their hands in the gesture of *namaskar*.

The second distinguishing feature of Hinduism is the principle of hierarchical inequality. At the centre of Hinduism is the system of castes determining at birth a person's position in the social hierarchy, on a scale from "untouchable" to Brahmin priest. This, as Fuller says, is not "an abstract, hidden principle of social organisation; it is a visible dimension of everyday life in rural India" and dominates a Hindu's personal identity throughout his life, and wherever he or she might be.

The influence and pervasiveness of caste has been an important force for conservatism in India. It helps to explain why India has escaped the revolutions and social upheavals that



The uglier face of Hindu revivalism: zealots storm the Babri Masjid mosque in December 1992

in Kashmir. In 1989 Rajiv Gandhi, drawing on the themes of his Hindu nationalist opponents, opened his campaign by declaring that he would re-establish Ram Raya, the mythical utopian kingdom over which Ram, both king and god, is said to have ruled.

In face of this usurpation of their clothes, the Hindu nationalist movement intensified its own campaigns. From claiming that the Muslim shrine at Ayodhya in northern India was in reality a Hindu temple, the VHP and other extreme Hindu movements took up the themes of shifting the shrine and then of rebuilding the temple.

The stronghold of the Hindu nationalist movement still remains fairly localised in terms of caste and of regions: its centre is the trading and small business caste of northern India. Its strength has since grown for several reasons: Hindu fears at Moslem self-assertiveness; growing doubts over the ability of Congress to promote national causes; and the fears of the upper castes of a loss of power and prestige to aggressive lower caste groups who are seizing power in both local and national politics.

Fuller maintains that over the longer term the Hindu fundamentalists do not have the support to obtain an electoral majority in India. He says: "Hindus, whatever the chauvinists among them like to believe, belong to a religiously plural society."

He adds that they are not aggressive about their religion: "They worship their gods and goddesses, offer sacrifices to them, celebrate festivals for them, sing devotional hymns to them, go on pilgrimages to their sacred sites and ask them for help in times of trouble, much as they have done in the past, largely unaffected by fundamentalist influences."

• The author was FT South Asia Correspondent in Delhi between 1988-92. He now runs a business in Delhi

have unhinged other newly-independent countries. It has also been a negative force for development, particularly in education, where the Brahmin, educated elite, which has dominated government since independence, has turned a partial blind eye towards the country's high levels of illiteracy and lack of primary education in areas of deepest poverty.

A visitor to India walking into a temple in a large city is seeing popular Hinduism in practice. Hindus believe in the existence of a multitude of gods; that there can be different manifestations of the same god; and that all reflect the universal. Hindus see these gods and goddesses as powerful forces in their lives, mostly benign but sometimes evil. They pray to them, seek their support in critical moments, show their gratitude through offerings, and sometimes seek to appease them through sacrifices.

Scholars used to distinguish this popular Hinduism from Sanskritic Hinduism as handed down in the sacred texts and practiced by Brahmin priests. The central features of these were seen to be the worship of the great deities, such as Vishnu and Shiva, the pan-Hindu sanctity of the rivers, the importance of the main pilgrimage sites, the sanctity of the cow, and the pre-eminent role of the Brahmans.

But Fuller, together with other recent scholars, questions the validity of this distinction and sees Hinduism as taking different forms in different parts of the country and in different periods.

Hinduism developed as a political movement only recently. A Hindu reformist movement grew up in the late 18th century in parallel with the emerging nationalist movement and the strengthening of separate Hindu and Moslem political identities. As the Khalsa movement gathered force in the early years of this century – encouraging Moslems worldwide to focus on their common religious identity – so Hindu communalism developed in India.

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the mother movement to the BJP, was founded in the 1920s to promote Hindu consciousness and identity, and the concept of the Hindu nation. Vinayak Sarkar, who

invented the concept of Hindutva (the Hindu nation) at that time, described it as more comprehensive than Hinduism. He said it comprehended the "cultural, linguistic, social and political aspects" of Hinduism as well.

Hindu self-assertiveness grew with Partition in 1947 but in the early decades of independence it remained a minority movement. It gathered strength again in the 1980s, fanned by the short-term political exploitation of the issue both by Mrs Indira Gandhi as prime minister and by her son Rajiv.

In an effort to rebuild the waning popularity of the Congress party, they projected their governments as defenders of the Hindu nation in danger against Sikh separation in the Punjab and, later, Moslem sepa-

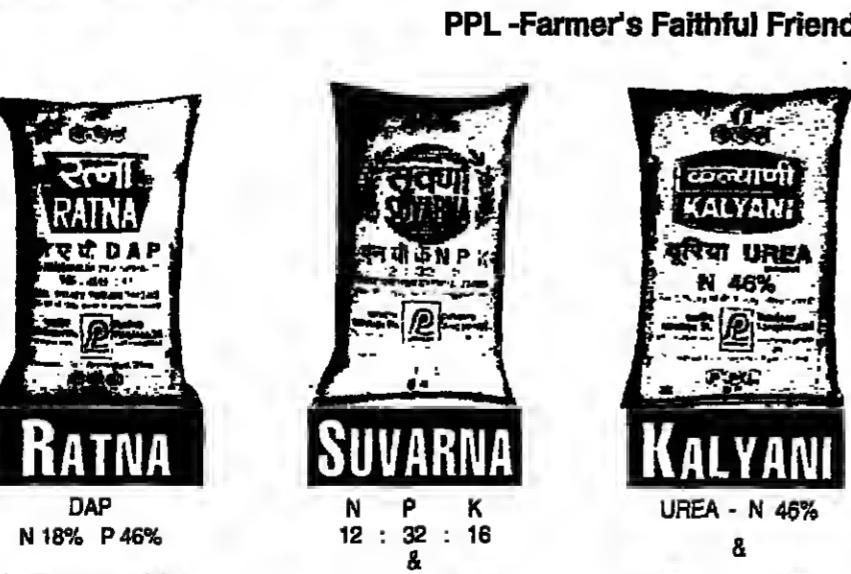
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PROFILE Chandrababu Naidu, chief minister of Andhra Pradesh

One man and his laptop test the pulse of a state

When Mr Bill Gates, chairman of Microsoft, visited India earlier this year, Mr Chandrababu Naidu, the Andhra Pradesh chief minister, flew to New Delhi specially to meet him.

At a US Embassy cocktail party, Mr Naidu took the software guru aside, opened his laptop computer, and spent half an hour demonstrating the "chief minister's information system" he has devised to keep his finger on state affairs.

"He [Mr Gates] was very happy with it," recalls the 47-year-old Mr Naidu, demonstrating the same system projected on a screen in his dimmed Hyderabad office.

Click through a series of windows and up pops data on virtually any facet of his state: the level of coal stocks at each power station; the rate of maths classes at a particular school; the daily depths of Andhra's water reservoirs.

Mr Naidu says he begins every day at his laptop, clicking through information which officials update daily, or responding to e-mails culled from the Andhra website.

"Another year and I can make the system perfect," he says. "We will respond to investment applications on the internet. I will send reports on the economy to the World Bank by internet."

Web sites, laptops, e-mail accessibility and electronic government are not the routine stuff of Indian politicians, who more commonly evoke a faint air of the 1980s.

Some critics see Mr Naidu's messianic faith in information technology as gimmickry. But India's youngest chief minister is apparently determined to dispense with the old ways of Indian politics. And his sudden political ascent, from little-known state politician two years ago to national figure, indicates some tough political savvy behind the "techie" image.

The son of a farmer in Naravipally, Mr Naidu became active in politics while studying economics at Tirupati University, eventually dropping out of a PhD course to take up full-time. By the mid-1980s

their power supplies will improve only if they pay for them. And he began to look around for ways of financing the redevelopment of his state.

All of which caught the eye of the World Bank. Impressed by Mr Naidu's attempts to reform his government, the bank began discussions on a package of loans worth \$490m to \$500m aimed at restructuring government finances, improving revenues and redirecting spending. It will be the bank's first foray into state-level lending in India.

Mr Naidu has three years before the next state elections, and he is betting on the fact that his reforms will produce sufficient results by then for his party to win re-election.

Moreover, Mr Naidu sees bent on affecting a wholesale change of attitude in the state. In tandem with his top-down reforms, he has begun a series of volunteer civic work schemes. Villagers are exhorted to get together and build roads and bridges, and officials from all levels are dispatched to the countryside to join in. Mr Naidu himself occasionally wields a shovel.

"If you set a trend, if you make a psychological change, then things will move," he says. "If people taste one result, they will follow."

He says he draws the model for such schemes from eastern Asia. Mr

Naidu is much taken by the examples of Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia, where he counts the prime minister, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, among his main political influences. In a way, Mr Naidu is seeking to propagate a sort of south Indian version of "Asian values". "People are always asking what the government will do for them. I am asking: what will you do for the community, for the country?"

Mr Naidu has his doubters. "This is a poor, rural and quite backward state," says one Hyderabad political journalist. "And these are ambitious schemes. It might work in a more advanced state, like Maharashtra – but I have my doubts here."

But there are also those who believe his plans for Andhra might prove only a political stepping stone. His TDP is a constituent of the United Front government in Delhi, and Mr Naidu is its political convener. During the UP's scramble in April to elect a new leader, after Congress demanded the ouster of Mr HD Deve Gowda as a condition of its continued political support, Mr Naidu's colleagues asked if he would like to become prime minister. He refused, saying he had too much to achieve in Andhra.

Ask him if he might one day become prime minister, however, and Mr Naidu will allow himself a smile.

Mark Nicholson



Photo: Marcus Clark

THE MILITARY • by Quentin Peel

Traditions die hard in the army

Splendours from the past cannot hide inadequacies in equipping a fighting force

On Sunday, the gentlemen cadets of the Indian Military Academy in Dehra Dun are allowed to cycle into town for the afternoon.

In spite of the heat on the dusty streets, and the hectic honking confusion of lorries, buses, buffaloes, carts, carts and wandering cows, the young men pedal their way in crisp white shirts and sober ties on their ancient bicycles, apparently oblivious of their surroundings.

The earnest cadets of the red-brick, white-colonnaded IMA, founded in the foothills of the Himalayas in 1932 and modelled on the British Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, clearly see themselves as something of a class apart.

That is one good reason why they slog through the drill and discipline and gruelling physical exercise of the course to become an Indian army officer.

"People look up to you," says Gentleman Cadet S.S. Boparai. "It's the tradition. We are slightly different from the people outside. These traditions help us to have more discipline."

Tradition there certainly is, from the parade ground to the officers' mess, harking back to the pre-independence era when India was still the jewel of the British empire, and the Indian army was its greatest pride.

"It's all good old-fashioned stuff at the IMA," according to one regular British visitor. "If it doesn't move, they say, then paint it."

Regimental colours recalling remote colonial battles are lovingly preserved in the academy museum, alongside the original document of surrender signed by the Japanese at the end of the second world war in Singapore.

The cadets still wear striped blazers, while their British counterparts long ago switched to plain dark blue. And there is still a rule



Pomp and reality: The army makes a colourful sight on Republic Day, but in Kashmir (right) its presence is heavy in personnel but lightweight in modern equipment

in the mess that politics, religion and sex are not discussed.

"You don't talk politics and you don't talk women," says Gen Ashok Mehta, former commanding officer of the Indian army in Sri Lanka. "If you name a woman in the mess, you have to buy a round of drinks."

Today, the Indian armed forces, and the army in particular, represent an extraordinary bridge from the past to the present. They have maintained many of the old regimental traditions and ceremonies invented by their former British officers and NCOs. At the same time, they symbolise the national pride of a united, independent India.

"What used to be the British Indian army is still more British than the British army," says Gen Ashok Mehta, who joined the 5th Gurkhas in 1957 and retired in 1991. "The British army has dispensed with a lot of

what you might call unproductive traditions, but we have hung onto them. In our case, it's like the English language: it's a bit like a gina which binds us together."

It is the same image which many military men also use to describe the armed forces' role in India: as a glue which binds the whole country together. Their role in the constitution is "to act as a force within Indian society for national unity and integration", and they take it very seriously.

The other side of the coin is that the armed forces see themselves as scrupulously apolitical, upholding old-fashioned traditions of honesty and decency, while the worlds of politics and the civilian bureaucracy in India have become riddled with corruption.

"In the army you are accountable. You are not here just for the money," according to Gentleman Cadet Ahmed Ahuja at the

IMA. "You have got a mission and responsibility. We are brought up to hate corruption. It makes us angry."

Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, director of the Institute of Defence Studies in New Delhi, believes the tradition is more profound.

"The thing goes back deep into Indian history, to somewhere where this caste system evolved," he says. Soldiers were drawn from the Kshatriya, the warrior class. "The fighting classes had a certain insulation from the rest of society," he says.

"Society depended on them for security, and in turn asked no questions. The soldier belonged to a professional fighting class; it was not his business to say how the state was being run."

"The great credit of the British was that, consciously or unconsciously, they understood this process. When they brought the good officer concept, it suited the tradition perfectly."

In spite of their pride and traditions, or perhaps because of them, the Indian armed forces are going through something of a crisis of confidence.

Part of the problem is simply a matter of cash, but in reality it goes deeper. In the 50 years since independence, and in spite of the end of the 'cold war', the transformation in international relations, and in military techniques and hardware, the Indian armed forces remain virtually unrefined. They are far too large and under-equipped, according to most defence analysts.

"It's a 1950s army. It's a lovely army. They still have all that beautiful regimental tradition," according to one British observer. "But it is 10 times the size of the British army, and its budget is one quarter of the British defence budget."

Gen Mehta adds: "It is at least seven to 10 divisions too big. You could easily cut 100,000 to 150,000 men. But

we are reluctant to change. How can we keep an ill-equipped, or at least partially equipped, armed forces?"

The equipment, such as it is, is overwhelmingly of Soviet origin, including the main T-72 battle tanks, MiG fighter aircraft, and guns. That means it is usually rugged and serviceable, but these days often lacking spare parts and support services.

The government continues to buy Russian equipment - most recently ordering 40 Sukhoi-30 jet fighters - but the military would prefer to shop around. Whatever happens, the next battle tank is supposed to be home-grown, the Indian-designed Arjun, coming into service around 2002. A new light combat aircraft is also being designed from scratch.

The real complaint of the military is that it is excluded from the decision-making process. "The chief of the army staff is not part of the decision-making structure,

even on defence matters," says Air Commodore Singh.

"The ministry of defence should be an integrated ministry of civilians and military people. It is not. Having civilians in charge means delays in decision-making. At one level, the military is not responsible for defence decisions. At another level, it cannot be questioned by civilians."

Two other criticisms are frequently voiced. One is that the armed forces are excessively involved in internal security operations

- in Kashmir, in the north-east, and increasingly in actions such as riot control in urban areas. The result is a feared increase in the politicisation of the military as it comes into contact with regional politicians and bureaucrats.

The other main criticism is that India lacks any coherent overall defence strategy, and any institutional structure to

design one. It sees two threats on its borders - China and Pakistan - and has strung out huge numbers of troops to oppose them.

There are growing calls for a joint military-civilian body along the lines of a US National Security Council to refine and develop strategic thinking.

That body would also decide, it is argued, whether India should produce and deploy nuclear weapons. The consensus in the armed forces and public opinion appears to be overwhelming in favour, in spite of the international opprobrium it might bring.

"What are we afraid of?" asks Gen Mehta. "I believe that the deterrence equilibrium would improve. It would probably bring China, India and Pakistan into greater strategic balance. Individual countries would feel more secure. That is the view of 99 per cent of the armed forces."

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12 INDIA: From the old to the new

PRIVATE EDUCATION • by Alexander Nicoll

Doon boys are in a class of their own

India's most privileged pupils are brought down to earth by an austere regime

The crack of a cricket bat upon ball, a tree-lined field on a sunny afternoon, the bell calling languid boys to tea... some of the golden memories of the British public schoolboy. But the hills in the distance are the Himalayas, and the boys are all Indian. This is the Doon School, India's most elite boarding establishment.

The rich and powerful have been sending their sons to Doon since it was founded in 1926 on the principle of producing Indian leaders who would transcend the country's prevalent divisions of caste and religion.

Independence was then still 12 years away, but Mr Arthur Foot, imported from Eton to be the first headmaster, declared that Doon's boys "must be those who are going to lead the nation in

all departments of life. They must be representatives of all communities and all professions".

For leaders in the making, life is as austere today at Doon as it was 60 years ago.

Five hundred boys are divided into seven houses, where they sleep in dormitories on hard beds. In the noisy dining hall they take turns to serve food to each other, and complain bitterly about its quality.

Doon forbids boys to bring money and personal possessions to school, and issues the compulsory blue and grey uniforms that include short trousers for all but senior pupils aged 17 or 18.

Boys are allowed pocket money of just Rs600 per term, to be spent in the school tuck shop or in fortnightly outings into the nondescript town of Dehra Dun. They are in trouble if they are caught with "home dough" - money smuggled from their parents' houses.

Like every other institution in India, however, Doon

is facing powerful new pressures that result from the liberalisation of the economy. Parents are no longer typically the executives of India's pushy commercial society with the conservatism of the board of governors and of an Old Boys' Society that includes some of the most influential men in India.

Alumni do, however, include many leaders of the new India. Among them are Mr R.C. Bhargava, who heads Maruti, the largest carmaker; the Nirula brothers, who head a leading fast food chain; Mr Arun Purkayastha, founder and editor of the magazine India Today; Mr Pramod Roy, a top news broadcaster; Mr Swaminathan Aiyar, former editor of the Economic Times, the largest selling leading business newspaper; Mr Parviner Singh, a leading drug company; other top industrialists such as Mr Lalit Thapar, Mr Dhruv Sawhney and Mr Rajan Nanda.

"The whole country is going through socio-economic change," says Mr Mason, the headmaster. Mr Mason has to balance the new competitiveness of India's pushy commercial society with the conservatism of the board of governors and of an Old Boys' Society that includes some of the most influential men in India.

Some parents do not see why their sons should have to do without the comforts of home - where they have servants, satellite television, computers, music systems and mobile telephones - particularly since annual fees are more than Rs60,000 - beyond the reach of all but the most privileged.

"We are supposed to be egalitarian, but up pops a Rolex watch, and there flashes a Reebok shoe. We want boys to be individuals but we don't like people using their wealth and power to upset the balance," says Mr Mason.

"My very first mid-term, I climbed a 10,000 ft hill," says Mr Sunil Dubey, who heads Dow Jones in India and was formerly a newspaper and magazine editor and a close adviser to the late Mr

Rajiv Gandhi, the Doon old boy who became prime minister.

Such experiences and the austere lifestyle breed close life-long friendships among "Deacos" - the term for Doon School boys. Though there were very rich kids, there was a great emphasis on equality and community," says Mr Dubey.

Not all old boys have fond memories, however. "It was a lot like Lord of the Flies," says one, thinking what he describes as ritual abuse and sexual exploitation of younger pupils by their seniors to William Golding's novel of boys' inhumanity to boys.

Another "Deaco" writes on the school's Internet home page, maintained by former pupils, that "the fund of stories and incidents, all memorable, overshadowed the unhappy moments that one had away from family, at the mercy of some heartless 'ruffians', flogging for some ruddy, now forgotten scutin."

Mr Mason says that flogging - the performance of menial tasks by junior boys for seniors - and corporal punishment are banned.

"Prefects are severely enjoined not to hit boys," but he admits that the school is concerned about individual cases of bullying and that they are difficult to handle because of "a kind of Masonic, cabalistic silence among boys which is supposed to participate". Nevertheless, he says: "If somebody gets beaten, it's all over, the school by the next morning and the headmaster announces it."

Mr Mason's primary objective is to improve teaching standards, shifting the emphasis away from sports and towards academic prowess. Responding to criticisms from old boys, including Mr Vikram Seth, the author whose books include *A Suitable Boy*, Mr Mason says: "I'm suggesting that we should play a lot less than we do at present. Academic performance should be given

more honour and prestige."

Parents have frequently demanded higher standards of teaching - which in India has never been a prestigious profession, often relying on learning by rote.

Mr Mason has set up a teacher centre within the school to find ways to raise quality. The aim is not specifically to improve exam results, Mr Mason says, but to use time spent in the classroom more effectively.

"I believe that in India too much time is wasted in lecturing to classes."

For incoming pupils at the Doon School, there is even some lightening of the spartan lifestyle. They arrived last term to find that their beds had new coil mattresses. Mr Mason believes that the "air of austerity everywhere needs to be reviewed". Meanwhile, the remainder of the school continues to sleep on beds that the headmaster says "are the same as you find in the villages of the humblest people in the country".

PRIMARY EDUCATION • by Mark Nicholson

The dusty road to learning in Uttar Pradesh's villages

'We don't have any teaching stuff because there's no proper building'

The children at Bajipur primary school sit in the dust under a withering May sun at the side of the busy Delhi-Aligarh highway. Laden trucks career past, blaring their terrifying air-horns.

Some of the six-to-11-year-olds find shade under a banyan tree. One small class is lucky enough to sit within a small open-sided pyau, a little brick shelter meant for parched travellers. A

hand-pump stands nearby. Five teachers sit in the shade of the pyau on the only chairs to be seen, chatting, whiling away the five morning hours of classes before going on to their other jobs.

Left largely to their own devices, a few of the children dip twigs into pots of watered chalk and copy Hindi words and phrases on little wooden hand-tablets, like the slates used by past generations of English schoolchildren. Others wander off to play with the pump.

There are no desks, no chairs for the children, no blackboards - no bright alphabet wallhangings,

because there are no walls. Only a few children have furled, pamphlet "textbooks".

"We don't have any teaching stuff because there's no proper building, so where would we keep it?" says Mr Murali Lall, one of five teachers, and a part-time farmer.

That the school's teachers are there may be explained by the fact that they earn Rs4,500 a month. More surprising is that five dozen of the school's "enrolment" of 160 children bother.

The school was established two years ago, and its teachers say land has been allocated to put up a schoolhouse. Mr Sunder Singh, a

teacher who is also an electrician, explains: "Government work takes its time. There is some paperwork."

Bajipur is a striking, though not unique, example of the impoverishment of primary education in Uttar Pradesh. India's biggest state, with a population of 140m, it is one of the poorest and most educationally backward. It is emblematic of the state's educational deficiencies, and indicative of those of many Indian states, particularly in the north.

By any tally, Uttar Pradesh's primary education system is a failure. Its literacy rates are 56 per cent for males (compared with 64 per

cent for all India) and just 25 per cent for females (compared with 38 per cent).

Although the state claims

90 per cent of children are enrolled in schools, anecdotal evidence and recent studies suggest dropout rates are 50 per cent or more. At best, one-third of primary enrolled children go on to "upper primary" schools for 11-to-14-year-olds.

Studies also suggest that

teacher absenteeism is

endemic. Perhaps two-thirds

of teachers fail to attend

classes regularly, according

to recent research by Mr Jean Dréze, of the Delhi School of Economics, and Mr Haris Gazdar, of the London School of Economics.

Finding that only half of

the state's literate males had

completed the cycle of eight

years primary and middle

schooling, and just 40 per

cent of literate girls - that is

10 per cent of all girls - the

economists concluded that

"many children in Uttar

Pradesh, if they are literate

at all, acquire this skill on

the basis of a fleeting passage through the education system".

The blame, they said, lay

essentially in public policy

"inertia": the poor reach and

functioning of state education

services; unconcerned or demoralised teachers and

an absence of effective

systems of accountability.

They also cite caste factors,

the political bias towards

higher education, and social

practices which mean that

proportionately fewer girls

receive tuition in Uttar Prade-

sh and almost anywhere in the world.

Basic education in India is

constitutionally a state respon-

sibility, but nowhere is it yet mandatory. It is a

mammoth problem which

India's giant state has

started modestly to address.

In 1983 the state launched an

attempt to bring universal

primary education to 13 of

its 62 districts by 2000, using a

\$168m IDA credit from the

World Bank and \$2m of its

own funds.

The project aims to build

"institutional capacity", put

up new schools and recruit

and train teachers. For these

12 districts alone that means

hiring 16,800 new teachers,

adding 13,000 classrooms and

building 2,200 schools. A pri-

mary school costs about

\$7,000 to build, and about as much each year to staff and maintain.

A few kilometres down the road from Bajipur, closer to the Aligarh, is fruit of the project, the year-old Nagla Nata primary school. It boasts three brick and plaster rooms, three teachers - two of whom are present - and about 60 children, of an enrolment of 114. There is a teacher's desk and a couple of register books. There are blackboards, but no chalk. There are no other teaching aids and no furniture. The children sit cross-legged in rows on long strips of matting. Some of the older children have clipboards, pencils and paper.

The children sit attentively. "We have been for training twice under the programme," says Mr Devi Ray, who has taught for 23 of his 50 years and has no other job.

"We are working hard, and that is why there has been a fall in the dropout rate. Our school is good. We are getting some facilities from the government. We are able to whitewash the walls

recently. It is definitely getting better."

Further down the same road comes a still greater contrast. The Dr Sohan Singh Public School is a small fee-paying school run by 23-year-old Mr Mukesh Kumar. His parents were both teachers, owned land by the Delhi-Aligarh road, and decided to set up a school. It is also a year old and has 123 students, each of whose parents pay Rs30 a month.

Next to the three-room schoolhouse, bamboo scaffolding surrounds the brick shell of a new classroom. "We hope to add a new classroom every year," says Mr Kumar, "so there will be no dropouts from our school."

Mr Kumar's wife and sister complete the teaching rota. Picture charts adorn the walls. The children, many in maroon and white uniforms, have pens, satchels and exercise books. They are clearly wealthier, and higher caste, than their peers down the road.

Only 3 per cent of Uttar Pradesh's primary schools are private. But Mr Kumar

believes the proportion will grow as wealthier parents turn in despair from the decayed public system.

"There's been some improvement in the past two or three years, but otherwise public education is in bad shape," he says. "The kind of money being spent is insufficient. Most of the teachers in primary schools are local people, so they're usually busy with other work - teaching is a resting activity for them."

"But money is not the real problem. The teachers get good salaries, but right from the beginning most of them don't take their work seriously. The village communities have to start looking after the schools, and education officials should do surprise checks. But they are only worried about the numbers at school, not the quality of teaching."

"It's very disappointing to see children of 10 and 11 who don't know basic mathematics. The basics aren't being done. And that's the worry. The future of this country lies in its primary education."

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Chennai
India

Owners of the Dr Sohan Singh fee-paying school hope to construct a new classroom every year

Photo: Mark Nicholson

THE CIVIL SERVICE • by T.C A Srinivasa-Raghavan

Corrosion spoils the 'steel frame'

Civil servants are in thrall to a system that can stifle personal integrity

Last year, several members of India's all-powerful senior civil service, the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), decided to hold a secret ballot. The purpose was to decide who was the most corrupt official in India's largest state of Uttar Pradesh.

The vote underlined what many believe to be the main weakness of the IAS increasing corruption. But it also indicated what some see as the service's main strength: its ability to discipline its members.

"I know things have gone to the dogs and the IAS has suffered a loss of authority and credibility," says a long-retired civil servant who joined the service just after independence. "But the system is basically resilient and, with some firmness, it will cure itself."

The IAS, with a current strength of more than 5,000, was originally the Indian Civil Service (ICS), the civilian body consisting of a handful of Britons who, along with the British army, ran India from the mid-19th century.

IAS members are recruited through an annual competitive examination. At the point of entry, probationers are generally aged 23 to 25 and can thus look forward to around 33 to 35 years of government service, usually in key positions at executive or policy-making levels.

Their first few years are spent in the districts, where they are in charge of law and order and have magisterial duties as well. Then, as they progress up the ladder, their duties become more policy-oriented.

"We were taught to believe that we were the rulers, the government," says an officer who entered the service in

1948. "We could never be wrong." IAS officers are routinely transferred from ministry to ministry as well as between administrative reform tribunals, "is central and state governments. But this practice is increasingly being questioned. "We were told that if we were sufficiently good generalists we could master any profession, do anything," says a recently-retired official. "Now we are realising that specialisation is critical."

After an initial spell at staff college, officers have almost no training programmes or career development schemes. There is no attempt to steer them into jobs that match their abilities. Everything depends on being the right man in the right place and developing good relations with ministers.

Such a system naturally breeds venality. Mr T. N. Seehan, a fierce opponent of corruption, who was himself an IAS officer before becoming India's chief election commissioner, once called his former colleagues "call girls".

Typical abuses of power include forming a co-operative housing society and granting it land in a good location at one-tenth of the market price, or ensuring that an officer's children get scholarships to universities abroad. But these are now regarded as smaller violations, and are so numerous that they are accepted as "normal" perks of office.

One IAS officer says outright taking of bribes is not the issue. "The real problem is that you must also have the ability to give impartial advice to the government and not tailor it to the needs of the political masters."

To the majority of the IAS officers, this is the key issue. The predominant feeling is of helplessness in the face of orders from a minister who can make or break a career by ensuring an indifferent assessment in an officer's confidential record.

And in answer to suggestions for reform or even abolition of the IAS, a former home secretary says: "You will always need a bureaucracy, never mind what you call it."

• The author is associate editor of Business Standard newspaper.

The result is that the IAS has evolved from an instrument of impartial governance into an extension of the party in government. For those who fall in line, the rewards can be handsome.

"Don't begrudge us these perks," says a middle-level officer who quit the IAS for an international development bank. "My salary after tax wasn't enough to pay the children's school fees."

Low pay, vulnerability to political caprice and corruption have dented the self-confidence of a corps that was, until recently, ready to take on anything.

"I agree the so-called steel frame has become a bit rusty," says a top-ranking official in New Delhi. "But the rust is confined to only some portions. By and large, the structure is still strong."

And in answer to suggestions for reform or even abolition of the IAS, a former home secretary says: "You will always need a bureaucracy, never mind what you call it."

• The author is associate editor of Business Standard newspaper.

THE DELHI ELITE • by Khushwant Singh

Through the cocktail glass

The diplomatic party can help secure entry into the charmed circle

Before the British built New Delhi, the élite of the city lived in mansions enclosed within the walls of the Mughal City, Shahjahanabad. They rode out on caparisoned elephants, or on horses with umbrellas bearing behind them, or in palanquins. For entertainment they went to the courtesans' quarters for an evening of singing and dancing.

All that changed when the new city began to go up around Raisina hill soon after the first world war. For themselves, the Sahibs built spacious bungalows laid out between acres of lawns and flowerbeds. They had their "whites only" clubs, where they drank and danced away their evenings. On winter weekends, members of the Hunt Club attired in black and scarlet cantered out to the countryside followed by packs of beagles. If no foxes could be found, they ran some miserable jackal to death and celebrated their success over glasses of sherry.

Things began to change during the second world war. There was a large influx of American GIs, who did not know the subtle rules of apartheid. A lot of young Brits also refused to join the exclusively white clubs, and preferred befriending Indians. By the time the war was over, the social pattern of the capital had undergone a sea-change.

A new caste hierarchy based on official status and money emerged, to displace the old aristocracy and titled gentry.

Division of the country on independence saw the élite of the city depart for Pakistan, and be replaced by Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs. The culture of Delhi, based on Persian and Urdu, lost out to rustic Punjabi and Hindi.

There are a few simple indicators to personal status in New Delhi society. Since a sizeable proportion of the



Going places: membership of the Gymkhana club is subject to strict vetting

Photo: Marcus Devlin

population are government employees, their importance is determined by their seniority. Ministers are a class above the rest. All are provided with armed security personnel. They have red lights twinkling on the roofs of their Ambassador cars and drive in convoys led by one with a siren, screaming to clear the way.

Other people's status can be ascertained by the clubs they belong to. On top are the Delhi Golf Club and the Gymkhana - both remnants of the British Raj. One post-independence institution is the India International Centre. It is the capital's premier cultural centre and organises seminars, lectures, music and dance recitals. It has a well-equipped library and a couple of restaurants.

Membership of all three clubs is severely restricted. An applicant may have to wait for 10 years or more for his turn to be considered.

The Gymkhana continues the British tradition of inviting candidates and their wives to meet committee members over cocktails.

Members throw cocktail parties to gain favour.

Elephants, horses and palanquins have yielded place to automobiles. In this matter, modestly paid bureaucrats are at great disadvantage. They have to do with Indian-made Maruti, Ambassador and Fiat. The more affluent owners or directors of private companies ride in imported cars, mostly Japanese or German.

A Mercedes-Benz is an important status symbol. Many can now be seen on Delhi's roads.

Civil servants make up for having cheaper vehicles by

awarding themselves important number plates. DLH1 is usually the prerogative of Delhi's Lieutenant Governor. Other smaller numbers are likewise taken over by senior officials, who are more than happy to hand out double-digit numbers to businessmen.

Delhi's new caste system determines its citizens' careers from their birth to death. Upper caste children go to upper caste schools and colleges and live in upper class residential localities, mix with their own kind, and when they are sick, are treated in their exclusive hospitals. Their deaths are reported in their own newspapers.

The ho-ho-ho "go to their heavenly abode" in the obituary columns of the most widely read paper, *Hindustan Times*, and are cremated in one of the many open-air ghats on piles of logs.

The élite have their deaths reported in a paper with a small Delhi circulation, *The Statesman*. And they are reduced to ashes in Delhi's one and only electric crematorium.

• The author is one of India's best known writers and author of several novels and histories

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14 INDIA: From the old to the new

MEDIA • by Vinod Mehta

Striking fear in political hearts

In spite of some errors investigative journalism enjoys credibility

How, in any free society, do you determine whether the press is doing a decent job? Doubtless media pundits will come up with various criteria, all of them wise and valid.

The pundits may not give the Indian press a clean bill of health, but they will have to concede that after 50 years of independence it has one big achievement to its credit - it has managed to strike fear in the heart of politicians.

Recently, I met a middle-rank Congress politician with a legendary reputation for wheeler-dealing and financial corruption. He was set with certitude.

"These days, when I go to the toilet I look behind the bush to see if some journalists is waiting to trap me." (This is expressed much more colourfully in Hindi.) There was, he said, no future in India for a professional politician engaged in making "a little money on the side" while toiling for the masses.

For at least three decades after independence those who ruled India managed to manipulate the press. It was generally assumed that these gentlemen - and a few ladies - were of unimpeachable integrity and dedicated to serving the people. As a result, most of their shenanigans went unreported.

Mrs Indira Gandhi's brief flirtation with totalitarianism in 1975 opened a can of worms, and since then investigative journalism, concentrating largely on public men with itchy fingers, has developed and matured. It is now an essential component of the Indian press.

In spite of some egregious reporting errors, investigative journalism enjoys huge

credibility with the reading public. "When a paper tells me a politician is corrupt, and the politician tells me he is innocent, my first instinct is to believe the paper," a retired army general said. He reflects the national mood.

Obviously, there are long-term dangers. Note has been taken of the destructive mood that has taken hold of the republic - a conviction that all politicians in the country are corrupt and incompetent. This mood always existed, but was tempered by moderation and balance. Now - especially in the past two years - with many politicians having to answer charges ranging from subversion and criminal conspiracy to harbouring gangsters, and others in jail or on bail, cynicism has set in.

Alas, savage price wars and the downgrading of journalists' status has crept in. Proprietors and managers frequently make senior editorial appointments and take editorial decisions without consulting editors.

In the past, the Indian print media produced a succession of strong editors who stood up to both governments and owners. Many of these have now either left the profession or succumbed to a new culture.

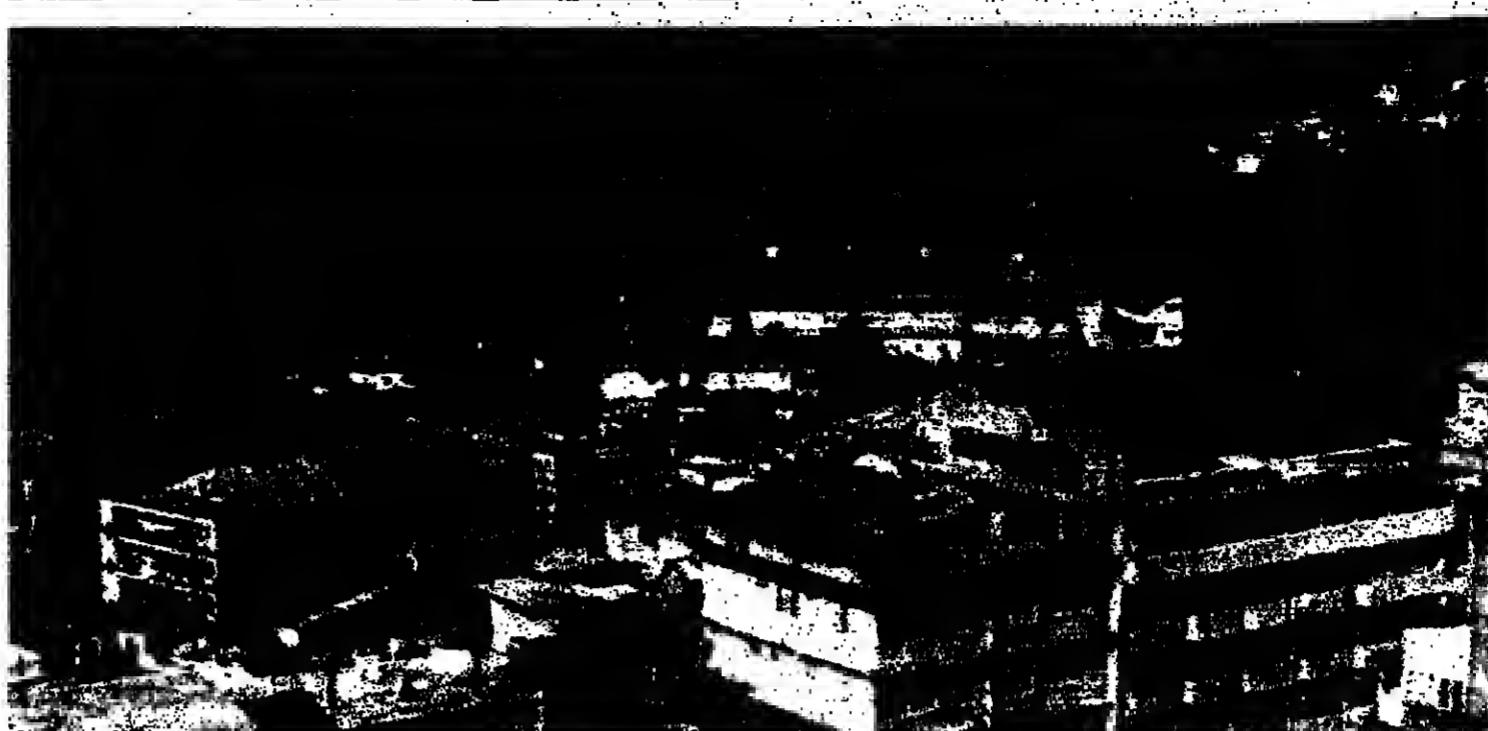
In spite of turbulence and tension, the media are generally healthy. Print and television have learned to co-exist - the latest figures show that 62 per cent of advertising expenditure is in India press upon the vestiges of the colonial world.

Above all, the print media and, particularly daily newspapers, enjoy high credibility. One reason for this is the lack of any tabloid culture.

It would be wrong to believe that the press has purged the country of corrupt politicians, but it has instilled sufficient fear to make habitual offenders think twice.

• The author is editor of *Outlook*, the Indian weekly magazine

DARJEELING • by Stefan Wagstyl



Tea planters still cling to times past, but for the main part Darjeeling has surrendered to the pressures of late 20th century life

Photo: Ondrej

An uphill struggle for nostalgia

Pride of place in the New Elgin Hotel at Darjeeling goes to the coronation portraits of Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh. They preside over an establishment which hangs chintz curtains in the windows and serves porridge for breakfast and trifles for pudding.

Outside, the bells of St Andrew's Church still toll the hours on Observatory Hill; the nuns of Loreto Convent meet for daily prayer, and the Gymkhana Club holds roller-skating parties on its indoor rink.

Those in search of Imperial nostalgia can find it by the bucket-load in Darjeeling. But the relic of the Raj is best experienced through eyes half shut. For everywhere, the sights, sounds and smells of modern India press upon the vestiges of the colonial world.

Visitors are woken in their hotels not by the songs of mountain birds but by the clatter of taxi engines. The smells in the streets are not those of Himalayan flowers but of diesel and flicked drains. The (very) distant views of Kanchenjunga and other snowy peaks remain unchanged, but the once-verdant slopes below Darjeeling's old centre have been covered by a sprawl of concrete and corrugated iron roofs.

A town built by the British for 10,000 is now home to 100,000. Instead of a few thousand servants of the Raj and their followers, Dar-

jeeling hosts 500,000 tourists a year. British visitors have become a minority - outnumbered by Americans, Japanese, French and Germans. The great majority of tourists are Indians who come in the summer months to escape the heat of the plains.

Mr BK Mokhia, a retired army officer who is the town's deputy director of tourism, says: "I remember when everything in Darjeeling was neat and clean like the British left it. Now it is difficult to cope."

The demands of catering to so many tourists strain not only Darjeeling's environment but also its residents. The people of Darjeeling are mainly Nepali-speaking Gurkhas, who served the British in the army and the many tea plantations in the surrounding hills. Today, the Gurkhas prefer working for high-spirited foreigners rather than budget-conscious Indian tourists. Arguments, and even fights, break out.

Mr Ranen Datta, secretary of the Darjeeling Planters' Association, an outsider who settled in Darjeeling 15 years ago, says: "In the days of the British, the visitors were mostly affluent and leisurely. They did not have to argue with the local population about money. Today, the people who come have had to earn their money. They want to bargain. Naturally there are incidents."

The Gurkhas' resentment has

spilled into political agitation for increased local autonomy. Slogans in support of the Gorkhaland Liberation Front, the leading Gurkha political party, are daubed on walls. The Front has won a measure of self-government for Gurkhas but is campaigning for more. A 29-year-old teacher says: "We hate being told what to do by Calcutta (the capital of West Bengal), to which Darjeeling belongs".

Older Gurkhas are often heard to say that life was better under the Raj. Visitors sipping their fresh lime sodas on hotel verandas might be tempted to agree. But they would be wrong.

Since the British left, the Gurkhas people live longer and healthier lives than before. They are more likely to attend school, read books and have their homes supplied with electricity. Like other Indians, they have benefited from independence, even if they are often troubled by the strains it has created.

Moreover, the best of the Raj has often not been lost but incorporated into modern Darjeeling.

The old colonial schools, established mostly as boarding schools for Europeans and wealthy Indians, now mainly serve the children of Darjeeling. At the Loreto Convent, where Vivien Leigh was once a pupil, the last English girls left in the 1960s. Their places have been taken by Nepali,

Bengali and Hindi speakers, whose parents value education at least as much as their colonial predecessors.

In the hills, the tea gardens have changed little since 1947. Only one

English tea planter still works in

Darjeeling - Mr Teddy Young, manager of the remote Tumsong estate.

But the biggest owner is Goodricke,

a Calcutta company controlled by British shareholders.

Mr Amar Nain, who works on the Goodricke-owned Castleton estate, says that even though the management of tea plantations is now in Indian hands, the principles of running an estate remain the same.

"The manager is still responsible for solving all the problems like he was before. It's like being the godfather."

Planters still frequent the teak-panelled rooms of the Planters' Club in Darjeeling. But Mr Nain says club life is in decline because of longer working hours and the advent of television and video. "The clubs look like they did 20 or 30 years ago but club life is, unfortunately, dying off."

It is a tribute to the British influence in Darjeeling that even modern-minded Indians like Mr Nain speak about the past with a touch of nostalgia. There seems every prospect that even when the New Elgin Hotel's coronation portraits have faded into oblivion, the living legacies of the Raj will survive.

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CRICKET • by Alexander Nicoll

Passion is the name of this game

Stadium crowds are fanatical - yet usually they have to endure poor conditions

It was after midnight on a baking May night in Madras. There was hardly a hint of breeze to bring relief to the exhausted cricketers and the huge crowd crammed into Chepauk stadium. But, in spite of the heat and the sapping humidity, the passion was still intense, the noise still deafening.

This was no ordinary cricket match. It was between India and Pakistan, enemies for 50 years who hardly ever play each other on home soil. It was being played at a time of the year - and of the night - not previously contemplated for cricket. And it was a fantastic match, in which the world one-day hitting record was spectacularly broken by a man who could hardly walk because of dehydration and cramp.

All in all, it was sport breaking new boundaries, being played at the extreme... and it was exciting.

If there is one thing that comes close to unifying Indians across barriers of religion, caste, class and even gender, it is cricket. Go anywhere in India, from whatever small flat spaces

can be found on mountainsides in the Himalayas, to the middle of hectic city streets, and you will find cricket being played earnestly.

Every afternoon on the maidan in Calcutta, scores of boys turn up to cricket training schools. At Shivaji Park in Bombay, hundreds of people play games which overlap with each other.

Everybody wants to be, or to spot, the next Sachin Tendulkar, who started his cricket in the park in Bombay, played for India at the age of 16, and was last year appointed captain of the national side at 23. Apart from being a master batsman, he is also fabulously rich, to be seen in countless television commercials.

Indians love to watch cricket. When international matches come to their city they flock to the stadiums. The crowds are noisy, partisan and excitable.

India's semi-final in last year's World Cup had to be called off when the 100,000 crowd at Eden Gardens stadium in Calcutta - the headquarters of Indian cricket - rained plastic bottles on the ground in disgust at the home team's performance.

Poor crowd behaviour is understandable given what spectators have to endure.

Most grounds have almost no facilities such as toilets



Howzzat! In the parks, everybody dreams of being the next Sachin Tendulkar. He started his cricket in Bombay parks and now captains the national side. Photo: Marcus Chown

or drinking water. Holding a ticket may not guarantee entrance but means queuing in the heat and being harassed by police who confiscate even sandwiches. In Delhi last year, police on horseback "lathi-charged" (attacked with sticks) people waiting to get in to a match for which tickets had been grossly over-sold. People who have managed without water for hours in the heat want to see India win for their trouble.

Cricket has remained a

national passion in spite of the persistent failure of India's cricket authorities to do anything to make the game better for poorly-paid players and ill-treated spectators.

For decades, cricket was run like any other part of the Indian bureaucracy, with privileges, patronage and influence of office more important to its holders than the efficient running of the game itself.

But a lot of that has changed in the 1990s, largely

because of Mr Jagmohan Dalmiya, a wealthy businessman from the entrepreneurial Marwari community, who is secretary of the Board of Cricket Control in India. He realised cricket's huge commercial potential as television escaped from the clutches of the state-owned broadcaster, Doordarshan.

Doordarshan did not pay to show cricket, and even demanded money to do so. Mr Dalmiya says: "Cricket, being popular and self-financ-

ing, took a stance that we must get a share of the revenue earned by Doordarshan or go elsewhere in the world to whoever was prepared to pay. Doordarshan was paying for everything that it was showing, except sport."

Mr Dalmiya won the backing of the supreme court for his award of television rights to Indian matches to foreign satellite broadcasters. Money has since poured into the game thanks to apparently unlimited demand from Indian corporate sponsors.

involving the two countries, but in new venues such as Canada. The annual schedules of Indian players, previously quite relaxed, are becoming hectic, with more one-day internationals and an ever-longer season.

Mr Dalmiya, who this month becomes president of the International Cricket Council, seeks to reassure traditionalists: "One-day cricket is required because people require a fast result and a kind of excitement and thrill, but cricket will be killed if the five-day game is not nurtured," he says.

To attract viewers and more sponsorship, he can be expected to try experiments such as the Independence Cup, which brought Pakistan to Madras in May.

Mr Dalmiya - although he does not say so - needs India to win more, especially abroad. If the commercial juggernaut is to be sustained, reform is needed in moribund domestic competitions, in the national team management and selection system and in the care of the playing surfaces which help India to win at home but do not prepare the team to do battle abroad. Players who are below top level need to be treated better. Mr Dalmiya is taking steps on most of these fronts.

"We used to get Rs5 a day for Ranji Trophy (the main domestic competition) matches, and we travelled by train," says the Nawab of Pataudi, a former Indian captain. "There is much more money in it now, for everybody."

There is also passion of a kind that players such as Pataudi can hardly have dreamed of in their more sedate playing days. Mr Dalmiya, and world cricket, are on a winner.

BOOKSHELF • by Alexander Nicoll

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A subjective selection of good reading

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Reforms stir fresh hopes

Continued from Page 1

ment at all levels, will provide the framework a thriving market economy requires. As politics is becoming more local, it is also fragmenting on communal and caste lines, as the Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) replaces Congress as the strongest national party.

The division of financial responsibility between the centre and states is still to be put on a sound basis. Moreover, many states are as corruptly and incompetently led as the centre has ever been. Competition among them is the answer. But some will fail. If Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa - that great northern belt of poverty and backwardness, with almost 45 per cent of the population - continue to fall behind, the stability of the country may be endangered.

Worse, in India's diverse society, greater democracy may lead to still stronger pressures from narrow special interests. Decentralisation may give not better government, but a more chaotic one. Yet the state has an essential role to play. It must deliver further economic reforms, improve basic education and health, and provide an adequate infrastructure.

The state must also be strong and bold enough to deliver peace with its neighbours. Nothing is more likely to excite the passions of the people and divert the attention of the politicians than external conflict.

The troubled relationship with Pakistan - legacy of the division of the sub-continent, the war over Bangladesh a quarter century later and the friction over Kashmir - remains the chief worry. But relations with India's giant neighbour, China, with which it fought a war in 1962, are also central. Fortunately, the new prime minister, Mr LK Guiral, recognises India's need for peace and sees its connection to prosperity in the region.

The Congress-dominated, centralised India is now as completely in the past as the British raj. The new India will be one of competition and decentralisation. It will be more unpredictable and chaotic, but it may, with luck and judgment, also eschew the old conservatism and complacency. If so, it could, for the first time in the people's history, offer the mass of Indians a chance of prosperity.

The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us

Jawaharlal Nehru

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16 INDIA: From the old to the new

In more than 20 years as the BBC's man in New Delhi, Mark Tully covered the country's every corner by road and rail. Here he describes two of India's most venerable transport institutions

Lovable relic of the 'permit raj' Along the old tracks

The rugged Ambassador is favoured by those who know the potholes of India

The businessman emerging from New Delhi airport hopeful of finding a new foreign investor-friendly India will immediately be confronted by a symbol of what to him is the bad old protectionist India - a line of yellow and black Hindustan Ambassador taxis.

But those of us who have lived in India for a long time have learnt to love the Ambassador, the Indian version of Britain's 1950s Morris Oxford or Austin Cambridge.

Its friendly pug-nosed face, with headlights like Thomas the Tank Engine's eyes, its aerodynamically unfriendly rounded bowler hat roof, and its unfashionable high gait recall the gallant days of motoring when drivers never knew whether they would reach their destination without a breakdown.

It is the steam engine of the road, a challenge to drive, and requiring much maintenance. Like the steam engine it has a long working life. Many of the Ambassador taxis in New Delhi must be at least 20 years old.

The Ambassador is rugged. A recent advertisement admitted that modern cars scored on fuel consumption and speed - but claimed the Ambassador won bands down when it came to potholes.

It has advantages, too, for the taxi driver who charges on a per-capita basis and for the joint family. Probably no one knows the record for an Ambassador's load. The claims go as high as 30 passengers - certainly 20 in and on an Ambassador in the remotest parts of India.

Potholes, unmarked speed-breakers, bullock cart drivers for whom left and right have no meaning, lorry drivers who claim the freedom of the middle of the road no matter how narrow, and



The Ambassador car has survived decades of use - and abuse - on India's tough roads. Inset, Mark Tully admires one of his favourites

many other hazards mean breakdowns and accidents are frequent on Indian roads.

Here again, the Ambassador scores. Over the many years that it has dominated Indian roads, there has evolved a vehicle recovery system as efficient as - and a lot cheaper than - Britain's AA or RAC recovery schemes.

Almost every village on a main road has its *misteri*, or mechanic, who knows the Ambassador like the back of

his hand. He is a master of improvisation, never stampeded by the lack of spare parts. If you cannot get the car to the *misteri*, he will come to you and repair it on the spot.

Once I had the misfortune to collide with a tractor. My Ambassador limped to the nearest *misteri*, who extricated the fan from the radiator with a yank on a crowbar, filled up the radiator with a mixture of water and turmeric, and told me to get it welded in the next place

where there was any electricity.

The turmeric sealed the worst of the leaks and I reached a welder after one or two stops to take water.

Ambassador *misteris* have a language of their own: "shockers sit down" means collapsed shock-absorbers; "brooshees" are brushes which need replacing; a "denter" removes dents; others have caused. *Misteris* are also inclined to be cavalier in their attitude to minor problems. A driver com-

plained that his *misteri* had not repaired his brakes, and was told "the car is going now and that is what matters".

But it is not just the Ambassador's suitability to India's own very special road conditions which have kept it going so long. It was the beneficiary of those long years of economic planning, when industrialists had to get a licence from the government to make any investment, the notorious "licence permit raj".

Licensing enabled 20 or so families to retain a stranglehold over the industrial economy by using their influence with politicians and bureaucrats to ensure that their products were not threatened by competition.

Hindustan Motors, the maker of the Ambassador, is owned by a branch of the powerful Birla family.

It was not until the early 1990s that the Ambassador faced any serious competition. India's younger son, Sanjay, was a former apprentice with Rolls Royce in the UK and had the political clout to obtain a licence to manufacture a "people's car" called after the wind god Maruti.

When Sanjay was killed while doing aerobatics over New Delhi, the Maruti was

still on the drawing board. To perpetuate his memory, Mr Gandhi took the unprecedented step of offering equity in what was by then a nationalised company to a foreign corporation, Suzuki.

Since then, modern cars soon started pouring off the production line, but the ancient Ambassador retained a sizeable share of the market.

When India did at last open its economy to foreign investment, Ford, Peugeot, Daewoo, General Motors, Fiat and Mercedes entered the market. But India is a land which values tradition and Hindustan Motors is still building 25,000 Ambassador a year.

The Ambassador is cheaper than its more fashionable competitors, and the government provides a guaranteed market - it is still obligatory for ministers and officials, from the prime minister down, to travel by Ambassador.

To give the Ambassador its due, it also remains the first choice of many who know the pitfalls - and, of course, the potholes - of Indian driving. Hindustan Motors says it has no intention of phasing it out. So the Ambassador lingers on, a symbol of the licence-permit raj which is also taking its own time to fade away.

Photo: Marcus O'Connor

Indian Railways sees no need to mutter modern management mantras

develop its own capacity to manufacture diesel and electric locomotives. Last year 605km of track was electrified.

But what of the future? Road transport, which has wreaked such havoc on railways in other countries, is still hampered in India by a lack of motorways. Building modern roads is one of the government's priorities, so how will the railways fare when India does enter the motorway age?

The fastest train between Delhi and Bombay travels at an average 40mph, and many express trains travel a lot slower. As a regular rail traveller, I am often reminded of the guard who, when I suggested that our train was very slow, replied: "Oh no, this is a Superfast Express, it's just travelling very slowly."

Rail travel is comfortable for those who can afford the more expensive air-conditioned business classes, but those who have to fight their way into a "second class unreserved" carriage would be glad of any alternative form of transport.

It was suggested to Mr Ravindra that there might be difficult days ahead; he replied: "I have no worry about passenger traffic." He believes rail will always have the advantage over road on long distances, and does not believe anyone will ever want to drive from Delhi to Bombay. As for air, he is confident most of his passengers will not be able to afford that for a long time.

The railway has a clear strategy for retaining its freight traffic - concentrate on bulk.

Sir Frederick Burrows, the last British governor of Bengal, was a railway trades unionist, and proud that, unlike his hunting and shooting predecessors, he was a shunting and hooting man. But there is to be no revival of that on Indian Railways. Single wagon loads are not encouraged.

Last year bulk traffic accounted for 96 per cent of the freight tonnage. Coal alone accounted for 47 per cent. But how long will it be before India too decides to reduce its coal consumption in favour of less environmentally-damaging fuels?

India is an ideal country for rail transport. It has the long distances needed for profitable haulage, and there are plenty of potential passengers. Its vast population is perpetually on the move, travelling to find work, to attend family occasions, to places of pilgrimage.

Nevertheless, I wonder whether the chairman of the railway board is not just a little complacent about the threat from motorways.

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WEATHER FORECASTING • by Stefan Wagstyl

Sir Gilbert's way lives on

The Met Office still uses a 1920s formula to predict annual rains

Mr N Sen Roy, director-general of meteorology, is the top weatherman in a country where the weather matters more than in most other places.

Indians literally live or die by the accuracy of his forecasts. Mr Roy is not overwhelmed by the burden of his responsibilities. He jokes about the "blind faith" people have in weather forecasts.

But behind the humour there is a serious scientific mind at work, co-ordinating 8,500 staff spread across India who produce painstakingly detailed records and use the information to make predictions.

The data pours in from village rain gauges and from satellites, from radar stations and from balloons, into a network of computers headed by a US-made Cray machine, one of the world's most powerful. The forecasts range from emergency warnings of imminent storms, flashed electronically across the country, to the carefully choreographed annual monsoon prediction for northern India.

The monsoon forecast, made about a month before the rains are due, attracts the greatest interest from



Storms ahead: Monsoon clouds gather after a dry season

villagers and economic planners alike. But Mr Roy shakes his head at the trust people place in his words.

"Predicting the monsoon is a statistical technique. It deals with probabilities, not with certainties."

Mr Roy pays tribute to those who have wrestled with the challenge before him. Their names are written on an honour board in his office, headed by H.F. Blandford, the first imperial meteorological reporter, who pioneered monsoon forecasting in his tenure from 1873-89.

Working in Calcutta, he gathered around him Indian scientists for whom meteorology offered virtually the only chance of a scientific career. "From the beginning they were encouraged to pursue their own interests, so the department developed a tradition for scientific

inquiry which exists to this day," says Mr Roy.

He reserves the highest praise for Sir Gilbert Walker, who headed the department from 1904 to 1924 and devised the methods of monsoon forecasting still used today.

Sir Gilbert noticed that changes in monsoons often coincided with shifts in weather patterns as far away as the South Pacific and the North Atlantic. Without knowing why these phenomena were linked, he used the information to forecast monsoons - with startling accuracy.

Mr Roy says that today's model, with 16 variables, still uses phenomena identified by Sir Gilbert as well as others - such as movements in the El Nino current off the coast of South America and variations in Himalayan snowfalls.

In spite of the difficulties of predicting monsoons, Mr Roy says his biggest task is managing his personnel. From its modern headquarters in New Delhi, Mr Roy has to send officials to hundreds of observatories in far-flung corners of India, where they do not necessarily wish to go.

"I receive so many representations," says Mr Roy, explaining that he has to separate those with valid objections to a posting from those without.

"It's like being a doctor. The man who comes with toothache will complain as much as the man who comes with heart trouble. The doctor knows that the man with heart trouble is the one he must take seriously. It's the same for me."

Mr Roy also keeps a careful eye on the department's image. Among its offshoots is a centre in Calcutta for calculating the precise position of the planets and stars in the Indian heavens. The information is vital for the country's many astrologers and their clients.

Mr Roy denies that he is endorsing a decidedly unscientific activity, even though the department distributes the data in 13 Indian languages.

"We are providing a service," he says. "We could earn a lot more revenue taking advertisements from astrologers, but we don't do that."

Along the
old tracks

India 50 YEARS of independence

New heroes and a new mindset for year 2000

Gurcharan Das discovers on his travels around India that a nation of a million millionaires is on the way

Raju's 14-year-old face breaks into a broad grin as he briskly serves south Indian coffee at a roadside shop between Madras and Pondicherry. "This, sir, is my summer job," he says.

"I earn Rs400 a month and I spend it all on computer classes in the neighbouring village. Our stupid village doesn't offer private computer lessons. So I cycle 3km to the next village, where I learn computers two evenings a week. Our school does have two computers, but there is always a rush, and the older boys push me out. That's why I am taking summer classes. Next summer, I am hoping for a summer job in a computer firm in Madras."

"What will you do when you grow up?" I ask.

"I am going to run a computer company."

"How did you decide that?"

"I saw it on TV, where this man, Bill Gates, has a computer software company in America and he is the richest man in the world."

Five years after the economic reforms of 1991 I travelled 10,000km across India, taking both the high road and the low. The biggest change I found was a radical new mindset among the people. Raju is a symbol of this brave new world view.

A week after meeting Raju I was in Bombay, where I saw two young men in their early twenties walking at Nariman Point. They stopped to look at a tall building in awe. "So, this is it!" said one. "This is it," replied his colleague, looking

up with reverence at the office of Dhirubhai Ambani, founder of the Reliance industrial group.

"He came from nowhere and went up and up. They expected him to fail, but he refused and he built instead the largest company in India."

The two young men had come from Pune and they were paying homage to their hero.

Forty years ago, when I was growing up, our heroes were Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Today it is Ambani and Bill Gates.

Indians have traditionally not accorded a high place to making money. It is for this reason that the merchant or baniya is placed third in the four-caste hierarchy, behind the brahmin, the priest, and the kshatriya, (variously landholder, warrior, ruler),

but ahead of the shudra or labourer.

With the recent ascent of business after the economic reforms this order is now threatened. The sons of brahmins and kshatriyas want to be entrepreneurs.

The high priest at the Tanjore temple, a leading Hindu temple in south India, says this mixing of caste occupations is "deplorable... the beginning of the end".

Even traditional baniyas are upset. Krishan Lal Gupta, a merchant from Baroda, said: "It is money, not power, which motivates

young people today, and everyone wants to be a baniya in this country. It wouldn't be so bad if they were trained in the norms of business. I mind it when others muscle in on our territory... (and) then give our

business community a bad name when they get into trouble. Do they think making money is easy? It is a skill inherited over generations."

Mr Rakesh Mohan, an economist, calls it the "banianisation of Indian society".

The new mindset says that it is no longer dishonourable to make money.

This phenomenon is to be found in abundance across the nation.

A government schoolmaster laments that "everyone has become money-minded".

He says: "I am losing all my students to the new private school that opened in our village six months ago. They have to pay Rs30 a month compared to the Rs1 a month in my government school yet - can you believe it - the poorest Chamar of

the untouchable caste are paying good money to send their daughters and sons to the new school?

Why are they leaving his school?

"Because they watch TV. They want to learn English. They want to be rich."

Mr Fateh Singh, a Chamar who stands shyly outside the door and who will not sit with us because we are in a Rajput's house, says: "There is no loyalty left - everyone wants to get rich fast." But his grown son, Vilas, says he wants to set up a factory to make trunks rather than become a conductor in the state-owned bus company.

Fateh Singh is annoyed because he thinks his son is a fool to let go of a secure job which he has obtained for him through influence.

The 200 families of Babnam village in the Hooghly district of West Bengal have learnt to rely on themselves. Each family earns Rs6,000 a month from making fine chikankari embroidery.

"The last place I will go for help is to the government," says Golam Mandal. Suspicion of the government is part of the new mindset, in sharp contrast with just 20 years ago when the people considered the government to be "mother and father".

Even the judiciary and the trade unions have been affected by the changing attitudes. Justice Sawant of the Bombay High Court now delivers five out of 10 judgments in favour of business. Earlier, 10 out of 10 judgments were in labour's favour, says Zia Mody, a young high-powered lawyer.

The reforms of 1991 then unleashed pent-up energies and created a new confidence among young people. Becoming rich has become fashionable. A government job was the route to success in the previous generation, now the smart thing to do is to go into business. Money has replaced power and privilege.

Mr Pradip Kar, a Kashmiri brahmin in his late thirties, has built a Rs1.5m company from scratch in Bangalore. His goal is to reach annual turnover of Rs10bn by 2000. Success has come since the

Tamil Nadu, making shoes for Florsheim, Clarks and Marks and Spencer. She is proud of the shoes she makes, but prouder of the dowry she is saving for herself.

All these people represent a new attitude which is increasingly determining India's identity.

The spirit of the age is reflected in the vast number of rags-to-riches stories. This is not due only to reforms, but is the result of the prosperity of the 1990s, when hesitant efforts with liberalisation lifted the Indian economy's growth rate from 3.6 per cent to 5 per cent. As a consequence, the middle class started to grow rapidly. Rural demand for everything from washing powders to black and white televisions exploded.

Even the street urchins have been infected by the new commercial energy. Kum Kum at the Janpath traffic lights in Delhi says her garjas (bands of perfumed flowers) are fresher because she puts them in a refrigerator to keep them cool. As a result, more of her garjas adorn the hair of young socialites in Connaught Place than those of her competitors.

Three thousand miles away, Sushila has started working in the Presidency Kid Leather factory. She earns Rs1,400 a month in Guduvancheri village in Tamil Nadu, making shoes for Florsheim, Clarks and Marks and Spencer. She is proud of the shoes she makes, but prouder of the dowry she is saving for herself.

Continued on Page 18



In part one



In part one

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18 INDIA: Business

TATA GROUP • by Alexander Nicoll

Chairman tightens grip over loose confederation

Ratan Tata is seeking to focus the group on core businesses

For a corporate maharesha with a famous family name, Mr Ratan Tata has an unusual mission. "My endeavour has been to try to de-personalise the whole thing, to try to put (the group) into some structure that will outlive me."

Mr Tata has for six years been the custodian of India's biggest industrial group. Its steel company, which provided 1,500 miles of rails to the British in the first world war, runs a whole city in eastern India. Most of the trucks which bump over the country's atrocious roads carry the Tata name. In 1903 Sir Jamsetji Tata built the landmark Taj Mahal Hotel, next to the Gateway of India on the Bombay waterfront.

The Tata group supplies electricity to Bombay, and makes chemicals, tea and air conditioners. More recently it has gone into cars, watches, finance, information technology and telephones, although it remains strongest in its more traditional activities.

Unlike many other captains of Indian industry, Mr Tata is not struggling to keep a family-controlled group going. Management has been handed down through generations of Tatas, but the family is not thought to be particularly

cousin of J.R.D., descended from a different branch of the family.

His accession coincided with the opening of the economy to foreign investment, the lowering of import tariffs, and the removal of the government's stranglehold on private business. While Indian companies suddenly had more freedom, they also had more competition.

He was appointed in 1991 to the chairmanship of Tata Sons, the group holding company, by J.R.D. Tata, whose patriarchy spanned 83 years from 1938. Ratan was a

powerful chairman unwilling to cede power in their fiefdoms — some wanted to hand over to their sons.

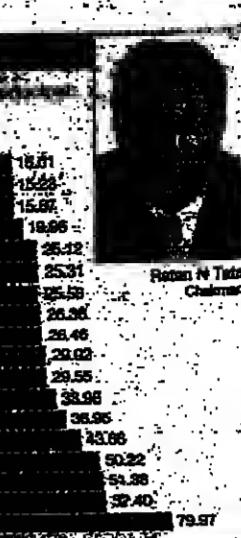
"Companies over the years have done what they considered right for themselves in terms of entering new businesses... and have often turned to the group when they have had to go to their bankers or seek a collaborator or sometimes, unfortunately, when they have been in trouble," Mr Tata says.

The Tata group, he adds, needs to have tighter control. Although companies should retain their autonomy, their confederation should be closer.

The group has taken some steps to enhance control, such as enforcing a retirement age of 65 on managing directors of group companies and 75 on chairmen. This has produced some fierce encounters — the chairman of one long-standing Tata company, who is over the retirement age, is insisting it is not part of the Tata group.

But his tenure left a difficult legacy for his successor. Mr Ratan Tata's ability to force adjustment to the new liberalised world was severely constrained.

Many group companies were operating as highly independent entities, with



PROFILE

Role model for the new multi-nationals

You can take the man out of Hindustan Lever, so goes the saying, but you can't take Hindustan Lever out of the man.

That is why home-grown managers of the Indian subsidiary of Unilever, the Anglo-Dutch maker of products from Lux to Lipton tea, are courted by multinationals entering South Asia.

The managing directors for India of sportswear maker Reebok, beverage giant PepsiCo and telecommunications company Motorola all honed their skills at Bombay-based Hindustan Lever.

"They have a great talent pool," says Mr Garrick D'Silva, president and managing director of Whirlpool India. "Their integrity and work ethic is consistent with ours."

"Hindustan Lever offers the best ready-made material to poach," says Mr Rishi Shah, a retired chairman of Lipton India, a Hindustan Lever affiliate. "Its people have acquired a global outlook and applied it to India."

Cultivating talent that is familiar with the Indian market place and loyal to Unilever's worldwide professionalism is the key to Hindustan Lever's success. The company, which employs 35,000 people, has grown into India's largest by market capitalisation. Although 51 per cent owned by Unilever, it boasts a cadre of managers strong enough to have run the company alone for most of its 66-year history. Since 1961, every chairman has been Indian.

Hindustan Lever was the first multinational to Indianise, combining the best of both worlds," says Mr Amit Shah, managing director of Motorola India. "It's a role model for companies that want to succeed in India."

Hindustan Lever earned a

reputation for probity in a country where political interference and red tape prompted companies to bribe their way round bureaucrats. The group adopted a different method to persuade the mandarins to ease up on import or production limits: it made the case for job creation, export earnings and rural development.

Such lessons stuck with Mr Mukesh Pant, with Hindustan Lever for 16 years and now managing director of Reebok. When he wanted to start making shoes locally, he faced a problem. Importing samples, even a single pair, was banned to protect local industry. "Everyone in the shoe trade imported the left shoe into Bombay and the right shoe into Madras," he says.

Determined to find a legal alternative, Mr Pant met officials time and again until he convinced them that foreign prototypes would help upgrade India's industry. Eventually, the government granted Reebok a special licence to import 16,000 pairs.

About three-quarters of Hindustan Lever's current team of 1,200 managers hail from an in-house training scheme that has been drawing graduates of India's premier business schools since 1994.

Mr Pant, a product of the scheme, was sent out at the age of 21 to peddle soap in the small towns of Punjab. "It was traumatic, but it was the highlight of my training," he says. "It builds you from the roots upwards."

These days, trainees spend six weeks in a northern district toiling alongside villagers, with whom they dig ditches and build houses and health centres.

Shortly after being hired by Hindustan Lever at 26, Mr Sunder Hemrajani was

assigned to manage an ad-

Miriam Jordau

FOREIGN INVESTMENT • by Stefan Wagstyl

Caution on both sides

Overseas capital is wanted but there is concern about its political and social effects

At an international cricket tournament played this summer to celebrate the 50th anniversary of India's independence, the name which adorned the hoardings was not that of Nehru nor Gandhi nor even Sachin Tendulkar, the Indian captain, but Pepsi, the US soft drinks company.

PepsiCo's sponsorship of the event might suggest that harmony reigns in relations between multilateral companies and the Indian nation. But the truth is rather different.

India remains somewhat ambivalent about foreign investment. It wants the capital, jobs, technology and business know-how that foreign companies bring. But it is afraid of the impact they might have on India's economic, social and political fabric.

The high expectations

which were created among foreign companies in the first flush of economic liberalisation in the early 1990s have been replaced by a greater sense of caution – and even, at times, cynicism.

By its own standards India has gone a long way in abandoning Nehru's autarkic policies. But it has much further to go in becoming as open to foreign investment as rival developing countries, notably China.

As Mr Scott Bayman, head of Indian operations for General Electric of the US, says: "In 1993 and 1994, there was a false sense of euphoria. Now people are more realistic. It's going to be 10 or 15 years before we say we are glad about what we did in India in the 1990s."

Mr Boli Medappa, who for five years ran the Indian business development office of US West, the American telecommunications group, says: "The net position is that India remains a very difficult place in which to do business."

Recent governments have welcomed PepsiCo and others to India of Bejai Auto, India's biggest scooter maker. Mr Bajaj says Indian companies need time before they can compete head-on with multinationals.

Mr Murasoli Maran, the industry minister, agrees. He says: "There's nothing wrong if a local industry wants protection for some time. The US auto industry did it."

Such thinking persuaded the government to bow to pressure from Indian airline operators and block a planned joint venture between Tata Sons, India's biggest industrial grouping, and Singapore Airlines.

Even the Confederation of Indian Industry, the main employers' organisation, which was once a staunch supporter of foreign investment, has become a little more cautious in the past year. It condemned as "cowboys" multinationals which entered a joint venture with Indian groups and later tried to renegotiate or break the deal. The CII was particularly concerned about an abortive attempt by GE to increase its stake in a 40:60 joint venture in domestic appliances with Godrej, a leading family-controlled industrial house.

Few Indian businessmen argue that India can dispense with foreign investment, however. They would prefer to see it in infrastructure.

In telecommunication investors became embroiled in rows over licence awards which culminated in a bribery scandal involving Mr Sukh Ram, the former telecommunications minister.

Public sector corruption is widespread. Mr Bayman at GE says that the company's medical equipment business has won 35 per cent of the private sector market but only 5 per cent in the public sector. "Could somebody tell me why?" he asks.

The root of these difficulties is the reluctance of bureaucrats and politicians to surrender power to the market.

They often have support from the more protectionist-minded business people, led by Mr Rahul Bajaj, chairman



Recent governments have welcomed PepsiCo and others to India

Photo: Tony Andrews

officials were portrayed as the plotters of the third world. While many modern-minded middle-class urban Indians believe such views are obsolete, others retain some faith in economic nationalism.

This is particularly true of the right-wing opposition Bharatiya Janata party, which wants foreign investment only in infrastructure, high-technology and export industries. As for consumer goods companies, "we might advise them to pack off", the party says.

The centre and centre-left governments of the 1990s have been far more accommodating and have admitted a string of consumer product companies to India – notably PepsiCo and its rival Coca-Cola, as well as McDonald's, the US fast-food chain, and Kellogg, the cereal manufacturer.

However, consumer industry groups face more restrictions than those investing in infrastructure and other priority areas. The real obstacles faced by many foreign companies lie not in the general direction of government policy but in its implementation. Investors in power generation – a

favoured sector – require 42

official authorisations from central and state governments before they can start work. Enron, the US energy group with a showcase project in Maharashtra, found that even securing all these permissions was not enough. The scheme had to be renegotiated when the Maharashtra state government changed.

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They often have support from the more protectionist-minded business people, led by Mr Rahul Bajaj, chairman

of India's biggest industrial companies, says: "We have some concerns about foreign investors, but basically they are welcome. Everything depends on how relationships (with Indian partners) work out in practice."

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20 INDIA: Business

BUSINESS DYNASTIES • by T.N. Ninan

Family groups face struggle to survive

Competitive pressure is forcing the traditional business empires to change

At the World Economic Forum's annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland, every January, the Indian contingent of businessmen is the biggest from any "emerging market". Dozens queue to sign up for a variety of sessions.

This flattering image of the size and diligence of India's entrepreneurial class takes a quick battering, however, when a check on the list of delegates shows that most of them have tiny businesses, by global standards. Turnover is counted in millions rather than billions of dollars. Only two or three make it to the billion dollar category.

The owners of these businesses once straddled the Indian scene like giants - dominating markets, influencing policy, setting the agenda for debate. But six years of Indian economic liberalisation have reduced them to relative pygmies. And the adjustment has been painful. Markets that they dominated for decades - from cars to TV sets, and from soft drinks to liquor - are under threat, or have already been taken over by multinationals.

The commodity businesses through which many of them prospered - steel, cement, aluminium, chemicals - face price pressure because protective tariff walls are being pulled down.

Mr Shashi Ruia, head of the Essar group (steel, shipping, energy and telecoms) even says that old-style manufacturing, on borrowed capital, is simply not worth the candle any more. Not too many agree with him on that, but the great Indian business family is under threat - and the Birlas, Goenkas, Mafatlals, Singhanias and Thapares know it. For years, these titans demanded economic reform. Now that they have it they are not sure they like it.

Some of the problems these groups face, however, have nothing to do with liberalisation. Some families have split as brother has fought brother.

And the splits have been narrowing. Most Indian business families have seen themselves as a local variant of the Japanese *keiretsu* - a multi-product enterprise, held together with cross-holdings, which seeks market power to control finances and supplies and to influence policy. A split threatens this power base.

Many businessmen saw joint ventures with international companies as a solution to the new competitive climate. Since 1991 there have been dozens of new partnerships formed, only for a rude shock to follow.

Many of the partnerships have ended quickly, and in almost all cases the foreigner has increased his stake or walked off with the business.

Peugeot tied up with a branch of the recently divided Welschand group to make cars, but is now negotiating to buy out its Indian partner's holding. Thapar, another group, tied up with DuPont for a nylon venture, but has pulled out for short-term investment cash.

Shell walked out on a branch of the Mafatil family following a dispute in their chemicals venture. The Mafatil holding is now on offer to several international bidders.

One of the problems for the business families is that reform of the Indian capital markets has hit them where it hurts. Large groups typically control less than 25 per cent of the shareholding in the companies they run. A bigger chunk is usually held by the government-owned financial institutions, such as the Life Insurance Corporation and the Industrial Development Bank of India.

These have so far been passive investors, usually supportive of even underperforming managements. But corporate democracy is now on the reform map. The Securities and Exchange Board of India, the

stock market regulator, has put in place a transparent company takeover code. Foreign institutional investors, allowed to buy up to 24 per cent of a company's stock, make their displeasure known very quickly if the management is seen not to be acting in shareholder interest.

The government-owned financial institutions, themselves under pressure to perform better, are talking of becoming more active shareholders. All this, with some emphasis now on transparent corporate governance, has put new pressure on the business families.

In the past, as most of them admit privately, they fattened themselves by milking the companies they ran. In any conflict of interest between the controlling family and everyone else - including other shareholders - the family's interest held sway. Some of this approach still lingers, but it is becoming progressively more untenable.

Forced by rapidly changing circumstances, many business families are focusing hard on running their companies well. Many are shedding peripheral businesses to concentrate on core areas. The RPG group with interests in tyres, electricity and plantations, has sold several businesses in recent years, after taking advice from a leading consultancy. The Thapars, dominant in paper and with a substantial presence in textiles, have also been selling businesses.

The Tatas, who own the country's biggest group, have sold Tata Oil Mills, and are considering other divestments. Mr S. A. Sabavala, Tata spokesman, says: "We've decided to focus on our core businesses, which are trucks, steel, chemicals and electricity."

This is a sharp departure from tradition. Businesses used to be seen in emotional terms, as family heirlooms. But a competitive market has brought a dramatic change in attitudes. Mergers and acquisitions have become a growth industry.

It may be coincidence, but the groups which have done well in recent years are the ones with a single market focus and with few family members on the scene. Ranbaxy Laboratories has made rapid strides in pharmaceuticals under the leadership of Mr Parvinder Singh, who kept the company insulated from a family feud that resulted in his separating from his father and brothers.

Mr Rahul Bajaj, chairman of Bajaj Auto, which makes scooters and three-wheelers, has similarly refrained from "diversifying" once the favourite word for Indian businessmen - and his company is a favourite on the stock market.

Many businessmen are redefining their businesses, and indeed their own role.

Mr Shashi Ruia, head of the Essar steel, shipping and energy group, says that old-style manufacturing is becoming a poor way to create wealth. He says shareholder value is created much faster in a service business such as cellular telephones, a sunrise business in which he is a regional operator.

Mr M. V. Muthiah, head of the billion-dollar Murugappa group, says that most Indian businessmen still confuse their role with that of managers. "It is not my business to manage a business," Mr Muthiah says. "An entrepreneur does just two things: allocate funds and position people. The only other thing he does is to keep track of emerging opportunities and threats."

If most businessmen still

try to stay in charge of their companies' day-to-day operations, it is partly because being full-time employees of their companies gives them the opportunity to live at company cost. Many businessmen live in homes that are officially company guest houses. This is a remnant of the days of heavy taxation and government curbs on remuneration.

In today's more free market environment, businessmen such as Mr Muthiah feel that they can at last be real businessmen. Meanwhile, however much the old families may be losing their lustre and position, the only other thing they do is to keep track of emerging opportunities and threats.

If most businessmen still

Ruia, Mittal and Jindal are making sure they set up steel mills that can compete against competition, through economies of scale, minimum staffing and access to cheap raw materials, imported if necessary.

Many are also going into areas such as power generation, which has the dual advantage of being safe from imports and devoid of the need for overbearing foreign collaborators.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that a shakeout has started, and will continue. Mr S.M.Datta, until recently chairman of Hindustan Lever, Unilever's hugely successful subsidiary in India, says that half the biggest companies and leading groups will have faded out in five or 10 years.

Perhaps the business families that continue to prosper will be those that capitalise on their traditional financial skills, their understanding of the local environment, a low-cost style and the ability to take quick decisions and move swiftly.

Traditional weaknesses, as Mr Ruia admits, have been brand building and technological development. Industries where these are important will come under the dominance of international companies.

But the real transition is from the Indian *keiretsu* to smaller, focused, more professional groups. From that might emerge Indian groups of real and sustainable size.

• The author is editor of Business Standard

GUJARAT STATE • by Tony Tassell

Industrial hot-spot in a hurry

This arid region will reap some of the biggest rewards of liberalisation

It is not hard to find a trader in the hot, dry state of Gujarat. "Throw a stone in the air and the odds are you will hit one," says a local.

For centuries, the coastal state of Gujarat has been a trading centre for the sub-continent. As Delhi is courted for its politicians and bureaucrats, so is Gujarat known for its traders. Even Mahatma Gandhi, its most famous son, was a member of the "bania" or trader caste.

As economic liberalisation has created more business opportunities, Gujarat has drawn on its traditional strengths to become one of India's fastest growing states.

It has been in the forefront of the increased competition among Indian states for investment and, in the process, has become a model for

more laggard regions. It is experiencing a surge in investment, which is expected considerably to expand its industrial and infrastructural base.

Gujarat had Rs1216bn in funds "on hand", that is earmarked for investment projects either under way or already approved, in February, according to the Centre for Monitoring the Indian Economy. Only industrialised Maharashtra, with an equivalent of Rs340bn, and Karnataka, home of hi-tech city Bangalore, with Rs225bn, exceed this.

Despite having just 4.8 per cent of the population, Gujarat accounts for 11.07 per cent of investments on hand for all Indian states. Responsible for 10 per cent of India's output and 15 per cent of its exports, it bills itself as the second most industrialised region on the sub-continent.

But for the Gujarat government, this is only the beginning. "We are in haste. We are in a hurry to develop the state," says Mr Dilip Parkash, state industries minister and a prominent local businessman.

One sign of the government's zeal has been a \$250m loan negotiated with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to support wide-ranging financial restructuring. The loan was the first direct ADB assistance to an Indian state. The bank chose Gujarat because the reforms were expected to take hold there and provide a model for other states.

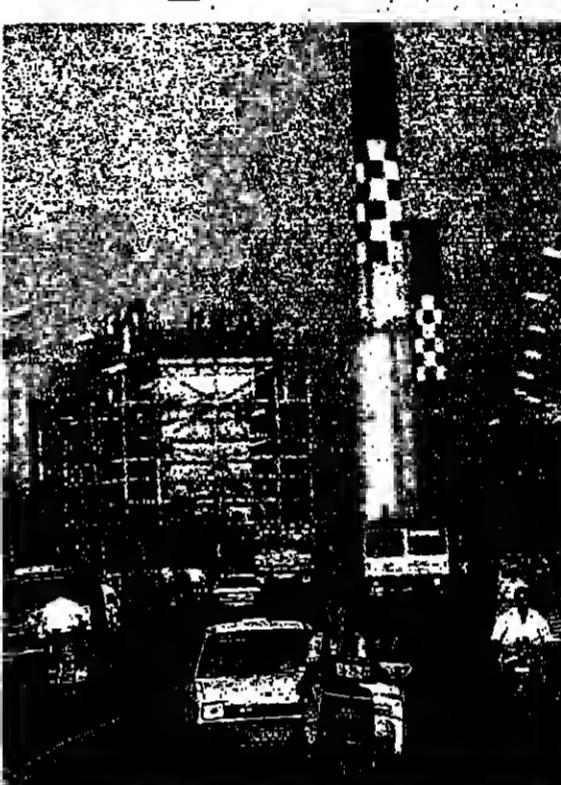
Although India's central government began economic liberalisation six years ago, the states have generally been slower to change. The restructuring planned by the Gujarat government is a long way from Thatcherism, but it is radical for an Indian state government and will inevitably set a precedent.

Gujarat plans to sell its holdings in a plethora of state-owned companies. It floated 25 per cent of Gujarat State Financial Corporation last year and has invited bids for 51 per cent of two other companies - Gujarat Tractor and Gujarat Communications and Electronics. Others will follow.

A sign of the government's enthusiasm for reform came with the closure of the loss-making Gujarat Textiles Mill, which resulted in thousands of redundancies.

The government intends to impose tighter budgetary restraints to reduce the state's fiscal deficit from 4 per cent of state output to 2 per cent within three years. It also plans to increase tax by simplifying the state's complex tax structure.

State officials say the



Booming Gujarat - a trading centre for centuries Photo: Marcus Cloete

intention is to direct funds away from areas that do not require government involvement to services such as health, education and infrastructure.

The building of such economic strengths could hardly have been predicted when the region was formed by the division of Bombay state into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960.

Gujarat, as official literature likes to point out, was left with little commerce and industry. The economy was primarily agrarian and the only industrialised pockets were at Ahmedabad, the capital, Baroda, Surat and Rajkot.

What industry there was focused on textiles. Gandhian-inspired socialist policies did little to encourage further development. For much of its early life, Gujarat continued to drift behind the rapidly-growing Bombay, with its big port and established business community.

The state has few natural advantages, apart from a 1500km coastline and strategic proximity to the Middle East and northern India. A dry, sparse region, it suffers from acute water shortages and lacks nearby fuel or energy sources.

Now it boasts a broad-based economy with strengths in petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, manufacturing, fertilisers, textiles and chemicals. It is also one of the biggest international centres for cutting small diamonds and has one of the world's biggest shipbreaking yards at Alang.

The prohibition laws are Gujarat's most obvious legacy of Gandhi. To get a legal alcoholic drink, most locals have to cross the border.

The state is sober in other ways, too. The lifestyle in cities such as Ahmedabad is relatively good compared with Bombay, but the atmosphere is sedate and many young people leave for the ruder climate of the Maharashtra capital.

While some locals are leaving, foreigners are coming in. Like other states, Gujarat is wooing foreign investors with financial incentives and promises of speedy regulatory clearances. It has had some success, with companies such as General Motors, Hoechst, Glaxo, ABB and GE Plastics setting up plants.

Gujarat will require more foreign funds, however, to meet its mounting infrastructure challenges. Mr Pradeep Shah, chairman of Indocean Ventures and a co-author of a Gujarat government-commissioned report that laid the foundation for the ADB loan, says solutions to shortages in power, fuel and water will need to be found if the state is to continue to maintain its current growth.

The government plans to increase installed electricity generating capacity from 6,238MW last year to 15,000MW in 2000 to meet demand, which is growing by 12 per cent a year.

But much will depend on the fate of the long-delayed and controversial Narmada Dam project on the border with Madhya Pradesh, designed to provide both power and water to the state. The dam has faced more than a decade of environmental protests - particularly over the number of villagers in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat who face displacement by the dam's waters.

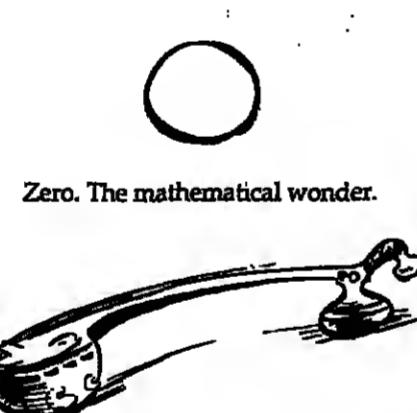
The project remains embroiled in a long-running court battle between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh over the height of water in the dam. The higher the dam, the greater the number of people in Madhya Pradesh who will be displaced.

"If the Narmada Dam goes through we will become the number one state," Mr Parkash says.

Meanwhile, the Gujarat government continues to develop large tracts of industrial zones to attract investors.

It also plans a drive to develop ports around its coastline, inviting foreign and domestic investor participation. Many observers believe this represents the future of Gujarat in the long run - as a trading gateway to India.

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STOCK MARKETS • by Tony Tassell

Culture change on Dalal Street

Bombay's bourse has a fight on its hands to win back business lost to National rival

Until the early 1990s, the best gauge of the Indian share market often used to be the crowds around the Bombay stock exchange (BSE) in Dalal Street.

In good times, thousands would gather in the street to feel the market pulse, swap gossip around food stalls, and attempt to place an order with a broker in the dilapidated warren of offices in the shadow of the tall tower of the BSE.

In a city more obsessed than most with making money, Dalal Street could lay claim to being the heart of Bombay. That the thronging crowds have now largely gone from the street is a testament to the degree of change that has swept over the exchange during the last two to three years.

The old trading floor of the exchange has been replaced by a network of computers, and the bourse's and its members' one-time dominance of the Indian

capital markets has been lost irrevocably.

Foreign brokerages with smart offices away from Dalal Street now sway the market, and the newly-formed, screen-based National stock exchange (NSE) has overtaken the BSE in trading volumes.

The new exchange was set up in late 1992. The government and market regulator, the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI), had long been frustrated with the pace of reform and modernisation at the BSE, which claims to be oldest bourse in Asia.

At that stage, the BSE had become an anachronism in a modern financial system. Trading took place for only two hours a day on an open outcry basis, there was little transparency in operations, price-rigging and other scams were rampant, and investors generally received poor treatment.

As only so much trading could take place in two hours, many investors had difficulty even placing orders. Then, if successful, there was little indication of whether they received a fair price, and the notoriously slow transfer of share

certificates could take months. On top of this, the risk of "bad deliveries" – where share transfers are delayed – was high.

The flaws in its regulatory and supervisory framework were also exposed by the 1992 Bombay securities scam, which involved the siphoning off of funds from the interbank money market for speculation in the stock market.

The many critics of the BSE claimed the bourse was being run as a bureaucratic brokers' club where vested interests slowed the pace of change. Whatever the truth, the BSE was unprepared for the revolution brought about by the NSE.

The National exchange started equity trading in November 1994, using a screen-based system. Within 11 months, trading volumes on the young upstart were outstripping the older bourse, which also made a late but rapid shift to electronic trading early in 1995. Now NSE trading volumes are more than double those of its rival.

NSE officials say nowhere in the world has a new bourse overtaken an established exchange so quickly.

The new body, which is owned by a series of Indian financial institutions, has also taken the lead in making structural reforms to the market under an agenda to improve the lot of the investor.

It introduced regular weekly settlement cycles, started the first clearing corporation in the country in April 1996, and in June that year moved to guarantee trades from counter-party risk.

In December last year, the NSE launched the country's first share depository, finally bringing paperless trading to the sub-continent.

The NSE has also expanded aggressively around the country – much to the chagrin of Bombay, which until recently was not allowed to do so. The NSE now has brokers in 145 Indian cities connected by satellite and by the end of 1997 the figure is expected to rise to around 200.

Mr R.H. Patil, managing director of the NSE, says this will bring significant long-term benefits for the Indian capital markets by widening the investor base.

"We hope it will bring an equity culture to parts of the country where it has not existed previously," he says.

A similar expansion is at the heart of a comeback planned by the BSE under the helm of its confident president, Mr MG Damani.

He says the exchange is now ready to expand its Bombay Go-Line Trading (Bolt) system around the country after meeting conditions laid down by the SEBI, the market regulator, including offering counter-party guarantees for trades.

Even if the BSE does rise to meet the challenge, much of the old culture of Dalal Street will have been eroded for good. As in other countries where screen-based trading has been introduced, much of the personal contact between brokers is lost.

The influence of the old-style, independently operating, BSE broker has also declined dramatically over the past few years. They have found it difficult to compete for institutional business against foreign brokers with large research departments and deeper reservoirs of capital to fund trades.

Mr Damani admits the BSE had been slow to respond.

Still, not even the most



The Bombay stock exchange: ready to expand. Photo: Martin Chilton

stalwart BSE brokers would argue that the increased friendliness, but that is about sophistication and all," says Mr Rakesh Jhunjhunwala, a prominent BSE broker and Bombay's highest individual taxpayer for two years.

"Things have changed for the better."

ESSAY COMPETITION

My vision of India

What will India be like 50 years hence? The FT asked Indian schoolchildren to submit their views for an essay competition, the prize being publication in this survey and a computer for the winner's school. Below we excerpt the winning entry, from 15-year-old S.Rajin at Chettinad Vidhyashram School in Madras.

I have a dream. I dream of an India 50 years from now where the people rule, not the politicians, where hunger and unemployment are forgotten words, and above all, where citizens are proud to be Indian.

I dream of a land where buffaloes roam the pastures and not the roads, where people remember and respect their vibrant culture, and do not dare to ask "Mahatma, who?"

I have a nightmare, too. I fear for an India where corruption is a way of life, divided by communalism, with congested roads and drains and a population which continues to explode.

I fear that India will become a land of bribery, corruption, nepotism and other evils which can ruin a country's financial, administrative and social fibre. These problems have only one cause. It is not over-population, corruption or even lack of education. It is attitude.

To change and improve a country, the people must change, and people change if their attitudes change.

Our purpose would be better served if we intelligently fulfilled our duties and deserved our rights. If we made

the right use of the resources which will affect our country, so that in due course of time, honest and upright people belonging to the next generation who find that sort of thing too lowly for them, their doing.

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belonging to the next generation who find that sort of thing too lowly for them, their doing.

Now I can just wait, wish and work towards a day when my dreams are transformed to reality.

When food is not a luxury, liquor is not a necessity and peace is not a rare and expensive commodity. A

day when travel is not

torture, bribery is not a part of administrative procedure and poverty is not a pre-requisite for Indian citizenship.

A day when each and every Indian can proudly look at the progress his country has made and say,

"I came, I saw, I contributed."

superfirms, it is a land of 900m people. We are our biggest resource. A resource which has long been wasting, a resource which has been neglected and been regarded as a liability, and a resource which will lead the way for us into the next century.

To improve the quality of our human resources pool, the brain drain is the one leak we must plug. If patriotism cannot hold people back, the last of money must.

Indigenous brainpower and manpower hold the key to our nation's prosperity as they will bring in the required monetary aid from the investment hungry multinational companies.

Politics will play a large role in how our nation will shape up.

We live in a time when a politician can say, "I came, I saw, I corrupted," and get away with it. Indian politics should undergo a sea change to meet the challenges and demands of modern India. What naughty, dirty politics requires is a wash in the right place and a good, clean scrubbing.

We require a new breed of leaders with new thoughts and ideas to grease the wheels, and not the palms, of this nation.

"But I am not running the government," says the irritating voice. What should I do about all this?

I am not going to suggest that we should go out into the streets with placards and start a *Bharat Bandh* (national demonstration) in typically Indian fashion, partly because it is a colonial waste of time and effort and partly because it belongs to the past. The generation who find that sort of thing too lowly for them, their doing.

Our purpose would be better served if we intelligently fulfilled our duties and deserved our rights. If we made

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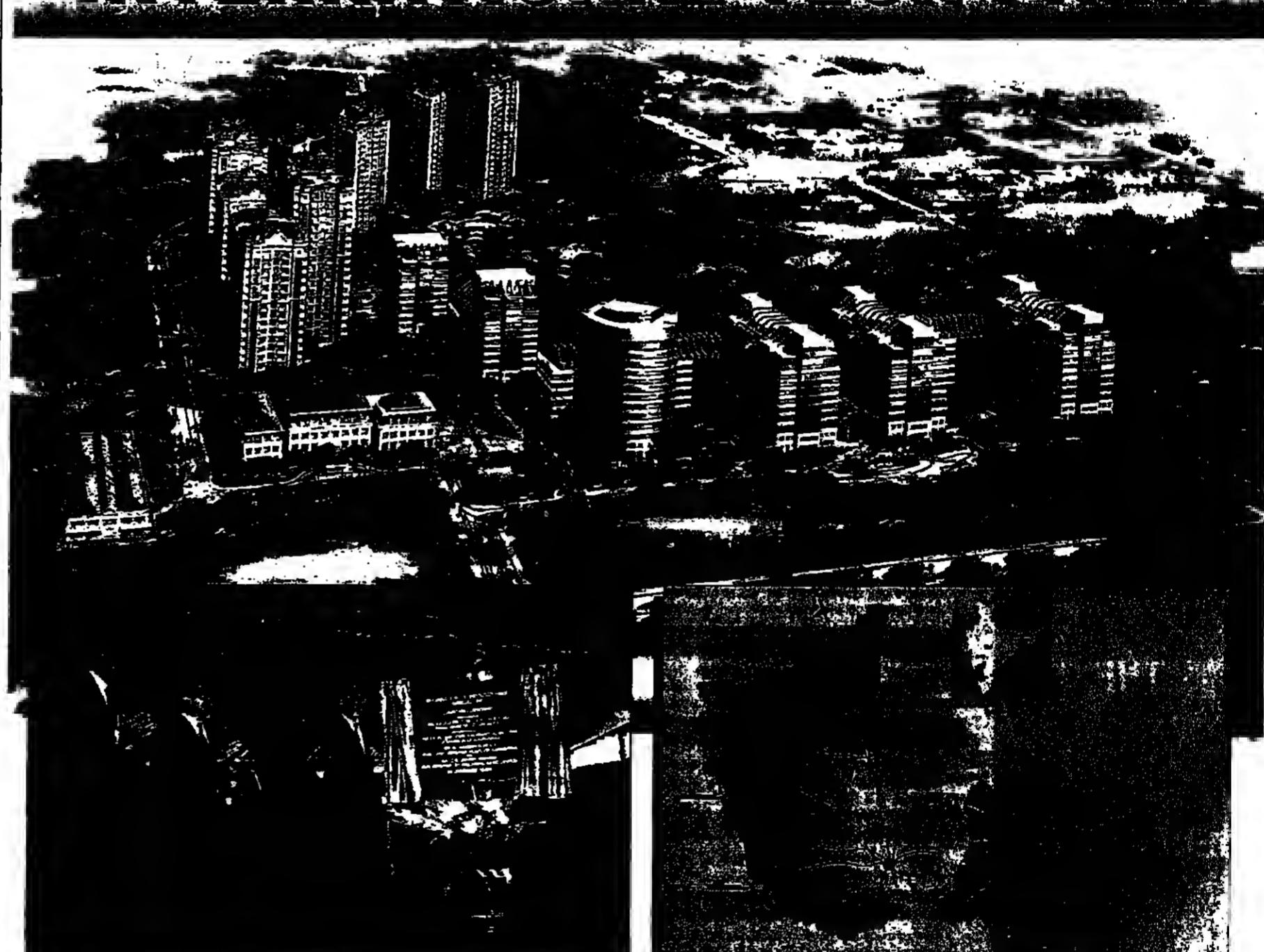
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INTERNATIONAL TECH PARK



A US\$86 million infrastructure project that marries Singaporean efficiency with the educated labour pool of the India sub-continent is now unveiled in the Indian city of Bangalore.

Already renowned as a hi-tech oasis, IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Motorola and Texas Instruments are among companies rooted there. Bangalore is the chosen centre for India's first world class business park. The first offices and production facilities of the new International Tech Park will be ready for occupation by the end of June, and by the year 2000 a modern self-sufficient satellite town will have fanned out from this nucleus.

The seed for the emerging venture was originally sown by Indian Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao and Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, at an international forum in 1992.

The Chairman of India's Tata Industries, the country's biggest conglomerate and owner of a 40 percent slice of the Park, plus a delegation of Singaporean business executives, next visited Bangalore in July 1993. By January 1994 ambitious plans were being pasted to the drawing board.

Partnering Tata are a consortium of five Singaporean industrial and technology park developers, construction, architectural and financier groups, combining to also take a 40 percent holding - Arcasia Land, Sembawang Industrial, RSP Architects Planners & Engineers, L&M Group Investments and Parameswara Holdings. The investment arm of the local Karnataka government, the Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board, owns the remaining 20 percent.

The appeal of the location has been enhanced by the pro-business approach of this government, according to the Chairman of Singapore's Economic Development Board, Philip Yeo, who lead the Singaporean delegation in 1993. This will see Bangalore firmly establish itself as a key investment location in India for high-tech companies - from multinationals, foreign companies and local ones like Tata, he believes.

The State's Indian Institute of Science and numerous other colleges and training institutes have contributed to the concentration of IT and electronics industry expertise in this region, with 6,000 of the 20,000 skilled professionals who annually join the workforce in Karnataka so trained. With a higher literacy rate than the national average - 56 percent - and English as the accepted business language, Bangalore made excellent business sense, from the perspective of the Singaporean investors. Strolling around the resulting business park it is hard to imagine it is India.

More accurately, International Tech Park is 68 landscaped acres of self contained efficiency, soon to provide a working environment of enviable international standards to 15,000 professionals. The Singapore Science Park, South East Asia's premier R&D hub and owned by consortium partner Arcasia Land is the model. The input from the City State in designing and managing the Park to a high standard, coupled with its influence internationally, is a perfect complement to Indian skills and overseas contacts, believes Chairman of Tata, Ratan Tata.

This means modern air conditioned office space, reliable electricity supply, effective telecoms connections through indigenous high-speed satellite links and therefore 1,000 telephone lines instantly available.

Tenants are meanwhile assured a seamless move through a central management office. Not only can they practically "plug-in" and start work, they can also plug in to a network of approved support services - from financial institutions to recruitment agencies.

Cleanliness and round-the-clock security will additionally provide a pleasant atmosphere for both work and leisure, the management hopes. A fitness club and other recreational amenities for employees and their families will be ready by the end of 1997. By 2000 the conveniences of modern shopping, banking, medical facilities, child care, and 300 well appointed apartments, will transform the Park into a relaxed community on the fringes of frenetic city life. Despite the advantages of this easy environment, the sights and exotic smells unique to the sub-continent and the bustle of city-living in Bangalore are as easily accessed. Free shuttle services throughout the day will connect the Park's occupants to the heart of the "Garden City", just 18 kilometers away.

The Park is also positioned en route to the city's airport, with its many internal links as well as direct daily flights to Singapore. Beach getaways in Goa and Kerala are within an hour's flying time, and the cool of Southern India's famed hill stations are an easy drive.

For ambitious businesses keen to springboard into some of the East's most promising of markets, the new International Tech Park could be the passport. Certainly, it's seen as a major debut cooperation between Singapore and India. "I hope it will be the forerunner to many future ventures between our two countries," adds the Tata Chairman.

Financial Times is our doorway to India.

22 INDIA: Culture

STYLE • by Pankaj Mishra

Satellite barricades

Modern, urban society has found it all too easy to identify with western values

In an advertisement for an Indian brand of chewing gum seen on the Murdoch-owned Star TV satellite channel the viewer is presented with a rapid series of images. We see a swimming pool; hear the screams of a drowning man; watch the lifeguard, in a red swimsuit, cut through the poolside crowd, Baywatch-style life preserver in hand, dive into the pool and reach the drowning man in a couple of rapid strokes... but have the script deviates from convention?

It is not the man she rescues, but the packet of chewing gum in his pocket. Fortunately, the man doesn't drown. He claws to the surface coughing water while the pretty lifeguard greedily opens the packet of gum, turns to the viewer and with a conspiratorial wink says: "So, what?"

It is possible to see this ad simply as the work of a new breed of witty copywriters in Bombay and New Delhi and interpret the lifeguard's bearless actions as reflecting the selfishness of India's modernising society.

But while the ad is open to such interpretations, it perhaps represents a less easily understood aspect of contemporary India.

Six years of economic liberalisation has led to a cultural revolution in India, at least in the main towns and cities.

The revolutionaries are members of the new middle class thrown up by the reforms - chiefly, salaried professionals in the services and manufacturing sector, independent entrepreneurs, self-employed lawyers, journalists, designers and doctors.

Their barricades are the 20-odd satellite TV channels that have sprung up in the past six years and are now available across India, along with innumerable new

glossy lifestyle and fashion magazines and newspaper supplements.

Speculations about the size of this class vary from the 20m trotted out to lure foreign investors, to the more realistic-sounding 80m. Most of this class are the children of independent India, born well after 1947. This is a little regarded fact, but one which sheds much light on the state of contemporary Indian culture.

Every nation in Asia and Africa has experienced the moment in its post-colonial history when the clear idealism of its beginnings has withered, and deeper, less visible realities have risen to the surface. For India, that moment came with the declaration by Mrs Indira Gandhi of the "Emergency" in 1975.

What we know now as the new middle class was then still in its infancy. Consequently, the unique victories of the freedom movement, the cultural pride of Nehruvian India, touched this generation very little, compared to an older generation of educated Indians.

In fact, this generation came of age during the Indira-Rajiv Gandhi years, when the political and cultural legacies of the Nehru years were in the process of being systematically undermined, and replaced with - well, here probably lies the crux of the matter.

Already disconnected from traditional sources of culture, particularly in the cities, this new class had little with which to bolster itself against the chaos that followed the sudden collapse of Nehru's genteel bourgeois standards of politics and culture - which partly explains how the Hindutva nationalists party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, grew in strength during this period.

Thus, when the Indian economy began to be liberalised in the early 1990s, and India was exposed to the modern world after decades of protectionist isolation, it soon became apparent that no realm of Indian society was as vulnerable to foreign

encroachments as the one where Nehru's secular Anglo-Brahmin ethos had been unsatisfactorily replaced by some half-digested Hinduism.

The stage was set for Rupert Murdoch, and he did not fail to arrive on time. He identified the new class's cultural needs by looking at the success of other Indian cultural entrepreneurs - whom he proceeded to buy out in his usual manner.

Tbus, Baywatch and Oprah Winfrey came to the land of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana religious epics, both of which, though shoddily produced, had been the two most popular TV shows before the advent of satellite TV.

Now, after six years of Pamela Anderson and Oprah, Indian urban culture is in the process of thorough unchallengeable Murdochisation. From time to time there are protests, often from the more eager vendors of Hindu nationalism, but their importance is betrayed by their own leaders.

This was demonstrated, for example, when Mr Bal Thackeray, the Hindu nationalist leader of the Shiv Sena party in Bombay, publicly supported the organisers of the recent and controversial Miss World contest in Bangalore, and when he became the unofficial sponsor of Michael Jackson's first tour to India earlier this year.

Some academics, mostly in British and US universities, claim that Indian culture with its time-tested talent for synthesis will learn to deal with this latest foreign invasion on its own terms. But Indian culture is no longer coherent, let alone the formidable force some of these optimistic academics suggest it to be. Certainly there is not much hope to be found in the spectacle of Apache Indian, the Indian rap singer, or the pidgin Hindi crooners on MTV, which are examples of cultural disjointedness rather than creative synthesis.

India's encounter with

cultural and economic modernity has come at a time when it is feeling particularly vulnerable. The regular exposure, through the visual and print media, to western lifestyles, which are models for millions of Indians, has induced deep feelings of anxiety and inferiority among the modernising class.

"Are you up to it?" mocks an advert for the new Indian edition of Cosmopolitan - a great success since its launch last year, particularly among upper-middle class professionals and housewives - and a large number of people seem to feel that they aren't quite.

Hence the sudden rise in the number of agony aunts in the media - the television chat shows and newspaper columns devoted to resolving sexual problems; the fashion, beauty and lifestyle glossies whose names (New Woman, Gentleman, Oomph, Verve) provide a glimpse into the deeper desires of Indians for style and status; the short-skirted girls and gym-toned boys that eye each other up at Delhi's recently-opened McDonald's and TGIF Friday's restaurants.

Hence, too, the attempts at London-style cool by the English-language dailies that - in a country where slightly less than half the population lives in absolute poverty - are obsessed with South African food festivals, Greek-American pop stars or fashion designers. (A recent feature in the Times of India focused on a haute couture collection inspired by the "sartorial elegance" of India's freedom fighters.)

Thus, the chewing gum ad is not so much a reflection of the selfishness or ignorance often ascribed to the upwardly mobile classes in the developing world, but a desire to be "with it" and acquire the affluence and glamour of the first world.

• Pankaj Mishra is the author of *Butter Chicken in Ludhiana: Travels in Small Town India*.



Tuned in! Satellites dish pulling in signals for some 30 TV channels dominate skylines

Photo: Marcus Orenstein

MARUTI • by Rohit Jaggi

Young, upwardly mobile and heading for scrapes

Drivers squeeze into the smallest gaps and jockey to be first from the lights

"It's a freedom machine," says Neaveen Khanna, 18, brushing cigarette ash from his leather jacket. "I can get anywhere in Delhi faster than anyone else."

Mr Khanna, lounging in New Delhi's trendy Defence Colony market, is talking about his Maruti, the car of choice for the rich kids, clad in tight jeans, who hang out at the market.

Their cars sport huge stickers with slogans such as "Copa Cabana" across the rear window. Self-adhesive tinted-window film bubbles in the heat. Radios blast out the top Hindi hit songs.

"My car may have been bought by my parents, but its personal touches tell everyone who I am," Mr Khanna says. It is not only the young rich who own Marutis. Most of the shopkeepers at Defence Colony market own them, too.

Twelve years after the launch of the first 800cc ultra-compact model, the Maruti has become a symbol of the new urban India. According to many Delhites, business in the city has grown more brash, more forceful and more competitive in the past decade.

As an entry-level car, the Maruti has become a badge of the wealth which the new business ethic has generated.

Ms Poonam Sharma, a sales executive at Delhi car dealer Sikandar and Co says: "Customers are all sorts - middle class, rich, teenagers. Our global experience enables us to take on conventional and R&D projects, large and small, on a range of technical platforms. We are equally comfortable working on a T&M or Fixed Price basis.

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Through its own large sales and technical infrastructure, IIS pic understands the needs of the UK market and works closely with its UK clients. All work we do is under UK law and we work both in the UK or offshore, depending on project requirements.

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Twenty-five per cent of my own customers are teenagers.

Mr Satis Sharma, a photographer, says: "Many Delhi households have one car for each member, most of them Marutis. They are given to children as 18th birthday presents. It's the last car I'd buy. It has become a status symbol, and responsible for much of the congestion and chaos on city streets."

Maruti drivers pile them much like scooters, squeezing into the smallest gaps in the traffic and jockeying to be first away from the lights.

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The company's focus on low-cost production has deterred other companies from trying to compete with it. The wave of post-liberalisation rivals have been forced to aim higher up the price range, leaving the road clear for the Maruti to keep its dominance in Indian drivers' everyday fight with bullock carts, bicycles, elephants and camels.

"The cars are good value for money, they are fuel-efficient and they retain their value," says Mr Rabul Khosla, a banker. "They have transformed people's perception of affordable transport. They're a first-car buyer's dream and help people graduate from two-wheelers."

Maruti has 70 per cent of the domestic new car market. It has sold more than 1.65m vehicles, most of which are still in use. "In India we don't have the concept of disposal of vehicles," says Mr Arun Arora of Maruti.

It is in Delhi that Marutis are most in evidence. According to Professor H.B. Mathur, an expert in traffic flow and alternative fuels at the Indian Institute of Technology in Delhi, a new vehicle is registered in the capital every two to three minutes.

"In most western cities a minimum of 25 per cent of urban areas is roads," says Prof Mathur. "In Delhi the figure is 15 per cent and there is virtually no mass-transit system. As a consequence the average speed of traffic is 15kmph. If nothing is done, the time is not far off when vehicles will be bumper to bumper."

Cities are paying the price in pollution. India's main urban areas have grown so fast that they have swallowed up polluting industry that was once on their outskirts, but 65 per cent of pollution in Delhi comes from vehicles - 1,300 tonnes of it every day, including 910 tonnes of carbon monoxide.

In winter a pall of smog hangs over Delhi. Visibility on the constantly busy ring road is often down to the levels of 1950s London pea-soupers. Asthma cases are surging.

When Mr Sharma moved to Delhi from Bangalore in the early 1980s he hoped that the relatively clean air in the capital would be good for his asthma. "At first everything was wonderful, it was a garden city," he says. Within two years the Maruti was launched and with it came an explosion in the car population, and pollution.

Maruti originally aimed to wean Indians away from the omnipresent scooter. But this hope founders when the Maruti's launch price of Rs55,000 turned out to be twice that of its target. Now the gap has widened, with the cheapest scooter costing about Rs22,000 compared with the basic Maruti 800 at more than Rs220,000. The country's 3.48m cars last year were no match for the 22.7m two-wheelers. Still, India's burgeoning city-based middle class has an insatiable appetite for cars.

In Defence Colony market the shopkeepers graduated to Marutis from scooters as they became more prosperous. Most agree that they do not want to drive anything else. "I like the way it moves - it's manoeuvrable," says one. Another adds: "It's cheap, easy on petrol, looks good and it's trouble-free."

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24 INDIA: Culture

THE HIGH LIFE • by Shobha De

Bold, brash, brazen Bombay

Spend Rs40m on a wannabe wedding and there's one thing still missing - style

It was billed as the "Wedding of the Century" - by the hosts themselves.

The list of invitees, local and imported, was impressive - according to the press release. No expenses were to be spared - said the hosts' PR company. Therefore, the invitation card had to be awesome. And awesome it was - two well-built men were hired to deliver it.

The "card" was not supposed to be a mere tuppenny announcement. It was a statement that screamed: "This ain't no cut-rate wedding. This here is a super-production. The ritziest show in town".

The hostess was reported to be thrilled. "Nobody does it like me," she trilled during her weekly bridge game conducted on the wide verandah of her husband's pukka club.

Nobody really does it like her. Nobody dares to. But what the hell, it wasn't every day she had an eligible son to marry off to a nubile heiress. The wedding card said it all: it was a nauseatingly expensive and eye-poppingly spectacular - once you succeeded in actually locating it, lost somewhere in the silken folds of the artificial flower arrangement sitting on a silver tray.

Oh yes, the tray. It weighed 5kg (rival hostesses took the trouble to bring out the scales) and was itself positioned over a hollowed wooden sculpture containing an additional 5 kg of imported candles, a bottle of champagne and a "good luck" gold coin.

In February this year, there were 3,000 glittering weddings in the city of Bombay. Driving along Marine Drive - affectionately and nostalgically referred to as the "Queen's Necklace" - it was possible to pass five



Photo: Marcus O'Brien

Glistening Bombay: Fairy lights, diamonds and a touch of Cecil B de Mille

opulent open-air venues strung up with enough fairy lights to eclipse Elton John's party organisers.

Five venues, five different decors (Rajasthan fortresses with carved sand ramparts were big this year), five brass bands and five generator trucks outside to ensure a steady supply of electricity - all this on a narrow strip of land skirting the Arabian sea.

Whose weddings were they anyway? And just how much does one of them cost? Excluding the amount spent on jewellery, clothes and gifts, a conservative estimate would be Rs40m.

The hosts? Petty traders, small-time entrepreneurs, modest merchants - wannabes all. The new moneywallahs who love the

finance minister, Mr P. Chidambaram, and bless him for "opening up the economy". He, whose recent budget permits them to splash out without worrying about a tax raid at dawn.

Indian weddings have always been festive, noisy, colourful occasions. Only these days they have moved beyond rowdy family affairs, and now resemble mammoth carnivals designed to rival Cecil B de Mille sets. They are put together by art directors who cannot control urges to stick plaster-of-paris Corinthian columns into hired football grounds.

All decent self-consciousness, no real style. Beluga by the bucketful eaten greedily by bejewelled socialites with curry on their breaths.

make-up? Sorry, strictly Lancome.

Once that has been decided, the mums-in-law get together to plan the real business, the banquet. A chef flown in from Cancun is *de rigueur* if you want your enchiladas real enough to compensate for the dubious margaritas. If Mexican isn't your taste, try Venezuelan, Brazilian, Colombian.

Everything has to be imported - and so what if the poor oysters are shrivelling miserably on their melting ice-beds in the mid-May heat. Duck, salmon, caviar, paté - who needs that? Nobody. Not when there's enough Absolut vodka to float the QE2. Good marriages are made of platinum and gold, diamonds

and emeralds. You can keep your blessed vows.

Dowry is officially out but does anyone have anything against gifts? Tiffany knock-offs? Cartier something? It's Harry Winston or nothing. Besides, grandma has been kind enough to pass on some of her antique trinkets - the ones she bought from a limp-wristed maharajah in dire straits. What, you mean the groom wants to wear them? Why not? If he can get his cheeks professionally rouged plus his eyebrows tweezed à la Liz Hurley, why not flaunt priceless pearls over his dull gold Nehru tunics?

This isn't ostentatious living, it's an accepted way of life. A flash diamond merchant has to establish his credentials in a society that otherwise treats him like any old dime store jeweller.

The invader flying in from London for the occasion will take it all in the opulence and splendour. He'll scrutinise the crowd to see how many "names" the host has bagged. Chief ministers? Cabinet ministers? Big-league wheeler-dealers? Movie stars? Industrialists? Mafia dons? Foreigners in sharp suits? Antwerp traders? This man could be worth lending money to.

This is the new India - bold, brash, brazen. A bit too in-your-face for traditionalists who like their weddings downplayed, discreet and demure.

There is a grasping,

frenetic edge to all this spending, because it is so "new". So new. So liberating. The amorphous middle class has more moolah today than their fathers could have dreamt of. They've made it, they want to spend it.

Anyone critical of such conspicuous consumption obviously hasn't discovered the joys of hiring a couple of elephants, half-a-dozen camels and 50 horses for a reception.

• Shobha De is India's best-selling novelist and a regular columnist on *Bombay society*.

Now it's the Empire writing back

Salman Rushdie paved the way

for a bold new style of Indian literature

padically informed, formidably urban."

In the mid-1980s, two new books further changed the literary terrain in India - Vikram Seth's novel-in-verse *The Golden Gate* and Amitav Ghosh's *The Circle of Reason*.

Critically, nationally and internationally, these books became the benchmark for success for Indian writers.

Seth's verse-novel also marked the watershed in the modern movement in Indian poetry. Not only does this book figure on the centre-stage of the New Formalist Movement in America, but its prodigious success, followed by the even more overwhelmingly successful novel *A Suitable Boy*, put new Indian fiction and poetry on the international map.

Rushdie's was the first generation of Indian writers to use English as an Indian language, confidently and unashamedly, without any trace of the archaisms or imitation that formed the baggage of imperial and colonial India and which still showed itself in the literature even 30 years after the country's independence.

"Before Rushdie - and despite the presence of R.K. Narayan, Anita Desai and Ruth Prawer Jhabvala - India was regarded as a source of good second division fiction, much of it produced by British writers such as Paul Scott and J.G. Farrell," the Indian critic Pankaj Mishra wrote recently in *Prospect* magazine.

His provocative piece continued: "Midnight's Children changed all that. The novel was not only unlike any writing ever written by an Indian writer; it was then the only novel of its kind in the English language, boldly multicultural, rooted in India and Indian storytelling traditions, but soaked in a generous unselfconscious cosmopolitanism that came naturally to an upper-middle-class Bombay dweller in the 1950s."

"Rushdie himself was a radically new presence in the world of letters, intensely political, encyclo-

pedic and, somewhat sadly, the interest in India and the

international success of novelists Seth and Ghosh, along with Bharati Mukherjee, Rohinton Mistry, Upamanyu Chatterjee, Sashi Tharoor, Allan Sealy, Firdaus Kangla, Amit Chaudhuri, Sumitra Gupta, Vikram Chandra, Arundhati Roy and others, spurred the main publishing houses in India such as Rupa, Harper Collins, Viking Penguin and Orient Longman, to take an active interest in young Indian novelists and poets.

The interest generated by the national media and a growing audience of book buyers, has also helped writers gain a new-found status in India. Of course, one must admit, somewhat sadly, the

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Now it's Empire Writing bad



Arundhati Roy, whose first novel 'The God of Small Things' has been given a warm reception

Photo: Marcus Charles

Continued from facing page

national success of many of these authors came only after their international acclaim.

Anup Chaudhuri, author of two fine novels, *A Strange and Sublime Address* and *Afternoon Roog*, says: "Sometimes Indian writers are under pressure to produce what the West defines as what an Indian novel ought to be, what its destiny should be...a lot of it is market and publisher-driven - what prizes it might be suitable for."

"It is rather unfair to comment on a phenomenon that is so new. One needs a longer-term perspective, another 15 years perhaps.

"Much of all this is over-hype. Take Tagore for example,

he was a real superstar, but thankfully he wrote in a secret language, Bengali. The West judged him misleadingly on some rather indifferent translations, eulogised him and then literally killed him...India is a marketable entity, and has been for different reasons at different times."

But amid all the success, book-trade statistics and hype, there remains an unquantifiable tension among writers and readers.

Indian authors writing in languages other than English seem to feel marginalised in a national sense, even though they may enjoy huge reputations and book sales among their own language readership. The old debate as to whether English is a national language crops

up every so often.

Another tension is the "expatriate versus local" syndrome. Some writers now either divide their time between India and abroad, or have moved abroad permanently. This is largely because there is still no scope for them to support themselves sufficiently through their writing in India.

In the West, the combination of the infrastructure of paid readings, appearances in literary festivals and conferences, creative writing, teaching and fellowships and residencies at universities, allow them the time and the resources to concentrate on a writing-related profession. For the more successful writers, this

avenue of pursuit is only just becoming possible in India.

India's professional literary climate is still in its nascent stages. There are no agents, hardly any professional literary editors, and no reading or festival circuit. Most of the better books are, more often than not, edited by the authors themselves.

Therefore, it is not unusual that a national interest in indigenous contemporary English-language writing has been firmly established, and is steadily making its presence felt internationally - a classic case of what the Indian novelist and columnist Pico Iyer, called in *Time* magazine 'The Empire Writes Back'.

• The author is a poet whose most recent published collection is 'Postmarked India'

infrastructure starts to take shape.

All in all, the English-language Indian writing scene seems to be in good health. India is the third-largest English-language publishing nation after Britain and the US.

Looking ahead, it seems likely two trends will begin to emerge.

One group of Indian writers will automatically belong to the trans-national contingent because of their international success and their personal choice of location. The other group, no less successful, will choose to remain in India as a sustainable and viable

Software sector provides booming revenues in export and domestic markets

programmers at Infosys Technologies, one of India's leading software development houses, and other companies headquartered in the "Electronic City" just outside Bangalore, head back to town bars and discos with exotic names such as Black Cadillac, Underground, and Nasa.

Elsewhere, on Mahatma Gandhi Road - now crowded with the software development units of companies such as Siemens, IBM and Cybercash - a software group that created virtual money for use on the internet - other young programmers are still hard at work, logged on to host computers on the other side of the world via satellite.

This is India's "Silicon Plateau" and the hub of a software development industry with revenues that continue to grow by about 60 per cent a year in spite of the slowdown elsewhere in the economy.

The young software engineers - men and women - who drive the industry epitomise the new India. They are well educated, smart and, above all, ambitious.

While some design silicon chips for US multinationals such as Texas Instruments and Motorola, others help fix the "Year 2000 problem" - re-designing mainframe computer programmes written in Cobol programming language so they will continue to operate after midnight on December 31, 1999.

Most are already familiar with Java, the language developed by Sun Microsystems which is set to revolutionise corporate computing and the internet. Many of them dream of setting up their own software operations and becoming the next Bill Gates.

These computer experts, most of whom are in their 20s and have electrical engineering degrees from one of India's prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology, represent an emerging elite of software professionals. They are a high-powered force behind the country's computer industry and a catalyst for change in traditional Indian society.

They work hard and at all hours, but they also know how to have fun. After work, these computer experts, most of whom are in their 20s and have electrical engineering degrees from one of India's prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology, represent an emerging elite of software professionals. They are a high-powered force behind the country's computer industry and a catalyst for change in traditional Indian society.

exports to reach Rs38bn for the full year and the domestic market to reach revenues of Rs25bn.

The dynamism of the Indian software sector is reflected in the industry's rapidly-rising wage rates. A starting salary in an Indian software company is about Rs11,000 a month, still not enough to rent a flat but more than double an ordinary engineering job.

Indian software engineers still represent bargain brains when compared with their Californian counterparts. That helps explain why so many young Indian programmers leave to take up jobs overseas. The attrition rate in the software sector is about 30 per cent a year. Of this 80 per cent leave for the US, where a good software engineer can earn 10 times as much as in India.

Indigenous Indian companies may not be able to match these wages, but they are emulating their western counterparts in other ways. Software engineers at Infosys operate fixed-hours - they can come and go at any time as long as they put in 45 hours a week.

The Infosys premises has basketball and volleyball fields, a health club and cybercafe. The offices are cool and bright, there is no dress code and no rigid corporate hierarchy.

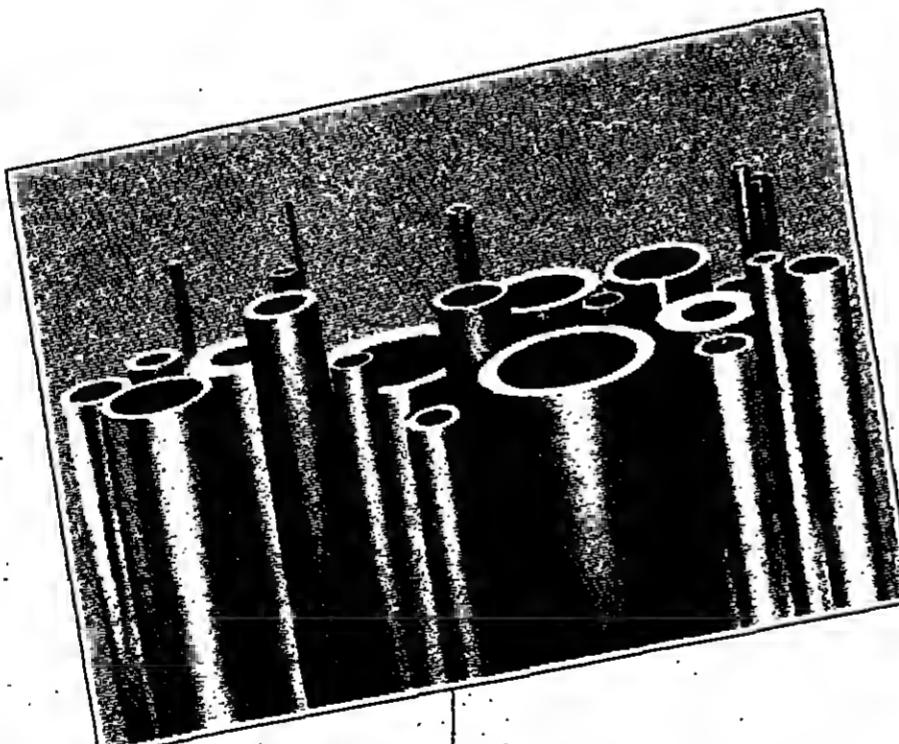
Several theories are put forward to explain why India has become such a successful offshore programming centre. Many Indians suggest that Hinduism has played its part. Three thousand years ago, Hindu vedics understood the solar system and had highly skilled mathematicians. They knew about differential equations and developed the concept of zero.

Software, it is suggested, has a lot in common with Hinduism - both require a systematic approach.

Jyoti Chakraborty

Bargain brains are high-power force

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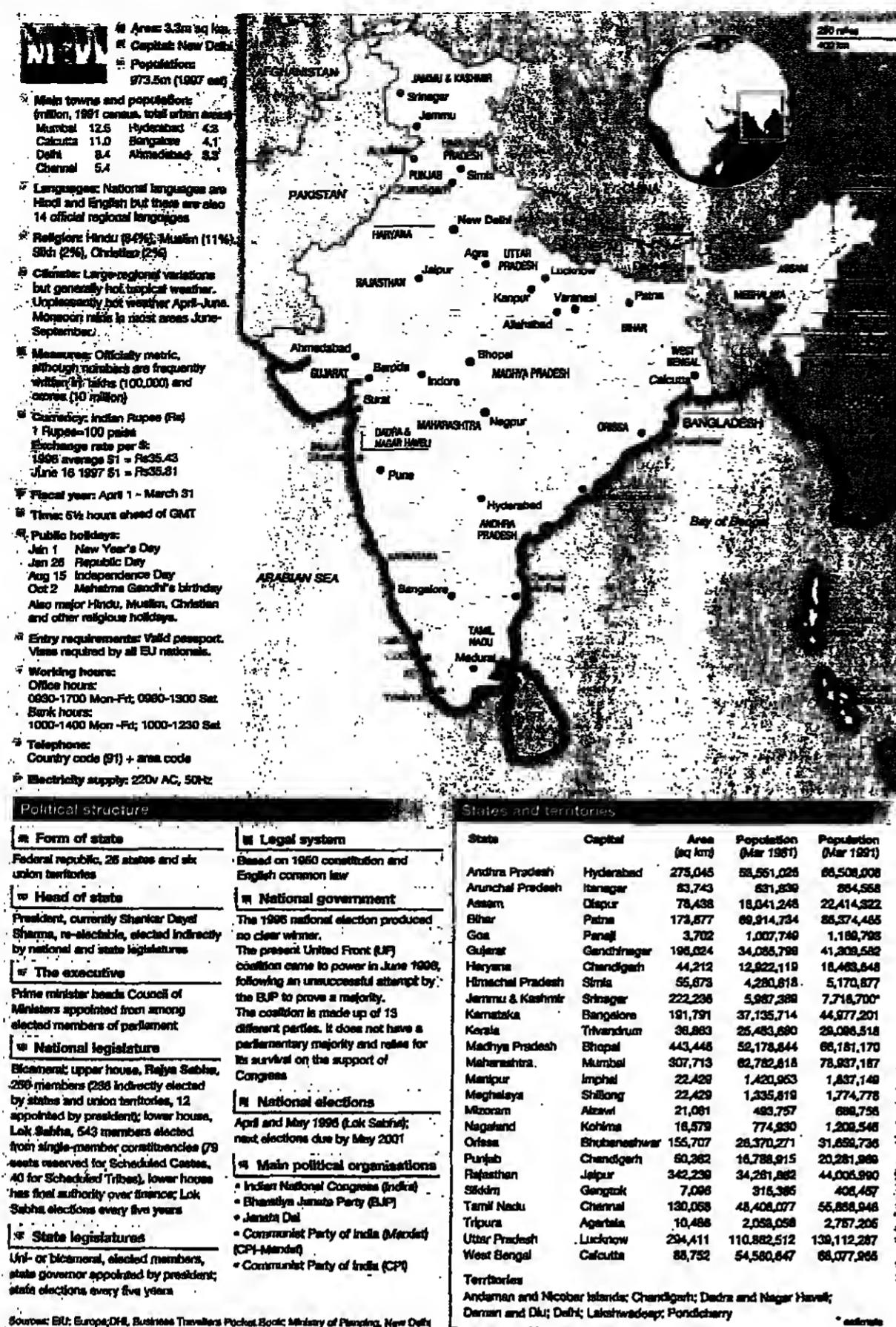
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26 INDIA: For the visitor

VISITING INDIA • by Alexander Nicoll



Make careful plans - and then go with the flow...

Opportunities and challenges abound; remember to take plenty of patience

Six years ago, arrival at Delhi's Indira Gandhi International airport left you in no doubt about what sort of country you were coming to.

After waiting for ages in the dingy terminal, first at immigration and then for your luggage, you stood in line to change money at the only State Bank of India counter, where the sleepy clerk was in no hurry to attend to you.

The cold morning I had to hold the door of my taxi all the way to the hotel, in order to prevent it swinging open at roundabouts. Other foreigners had far worse experiences with taxi drivers. It has all been smartened up a lot.

Now you are quickly out of the airport,

and pre-payment for taxis has removed

a lot of scope for cheating - and, in any case, hotels operate efficient car

pick-up services.

The best hotels in Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore, Calcutta and Madras, where business travellers are likely to stay, have improved their amenities and their service, though they are expensive and mostly still a notch below their counterparts in east Asia.

The short-term business visitor to India, unless allergic to the developing world, will enjoy the experience. Most such visits are centred around top hotels, where the food is good and safe, with occasional excursions for meetings and shopping adventures, and perhaps a day-long trip to the Taj Mahal at Agra thrown in. Indian business contacts will generally come to meet foreign visitors at their hotels and will shepherd them around.

But India is still challenging for foreigners who make longer visits, and especially for those who are assigned to the country on postings. Everything needs to be planned meticulously, and can still go wrong. Nothing can be relied upon to work right every time. All kinds of sicknesses are likely.

Patience and stamina are essential. While some foreigners fall instantly in love with India, others find that the rewards take a long time to arrive.

To ensure that they do come, wide travel is vital: the wealth of experiences which India offers should not be missed. Most foreigners who live in Delhi, a city which hides its tough nature behind the beauty of its leafy Lutyens-designed centre, leave it as

often as possible. But there are few quick trips: for example, a journey to Jaipur, the nearest big city in Rajasthan, takes five hours by road or a pre-dawn flight. Travellers have to allow enough time for each journey, and be prepared for plenty of early morning starts and delays.

The secret of successful travel is careful planning. Even so, you have to be ready to go with the flow. On one trip to Arrangabad, where I intended to spend a long weekend looking at caves, the aircraft broke down at Jaipur and was not mended. Nothing for it but to spend four days in Jaipur instead. But for some fellow-travellers, this was the second such disruption to their holiday within a week.

Long-distance road travel is not for the faint-hearted, and should only be undertaken in daylight. Trunk roads are littered with evidence of previous accidents. If you trust your driver, you simply watch the near misses in amazement. If you do not, you keep your eyes closed.

Trains are good, especially the short-haul inter-city Shatabdi expresses. First class air-conditioned sleepers rival the best in the world, and second class is perfectly acceptable. Domestic air travel has been revolutionised by the introduction of competition, and is quite efficient on routes between the main cities, but is expensive and still too vulnerable to delay.

All kinds of travel are subject to the vagaries of VIPs, of whom India has an astonishing number. Roads and air corridors are frequently closed for "VIP movement", delaying everybody else.

Foreigners never lose their justifiable nervousness about health. To reduce stomach problems, expatriates boil and filter water, soak vegetables in sterilising solution, and avoid red meat. The Delhi climate brings an

annual round of mini-epidemics, ranging from conjunctivitis and indeterminate "fever" to mosquito-borne dengue and malaria.

The British and some other foreigners can use - at a price - the High Commission's excellent medical centre, but those who go to local doctors find that they often mis-diagnose and over-prescribe. The state of most hospitals leads foreigners to hope that, if something serious happens, the patient will be flown out for treatment elsewhere.

In summer, dehydration must be avoided through the intake of fluids, fruits and salts. The pre-monsoon heat, in May and June, can be overpowering - not much gets done at that time of year. In winter, the air pollution in Delhi is dreadful; Bombay, also polluted, benefits from sea breezes.

Many expatriates, particularly non-working spouses, experience "culture shock" - depression and alienation which may result from a feeling of loss of control over life. Westerners who are used to doing things for themselves in quick time find it difficult to be dependent on other, less efficient people for the most routine things of life, such as driving, cooking and shopping. Reading the newspapers, which daily catalogue violent deaths and fatal "misfits", can lead to fear of a brutal world outside the front door.

However, few people will move to India without being aware of these drawbacks, and most will therefore be prepared to stick it out until they are accustomed to them.

India is different, and that means it is an adventure and a huge learning experience.

• The author has just completed a three-year assignment for the FT in Delhi



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FOREIGN POLICY • by Quentin Peel

Remoulded world view

Tenets which lay unquestioned for half a century after Nehru are being revised.

Mohamed Gujral, India's prime minister and foreign minister, is trying to revolutionise it.

Now he is rather hard of hearing, soft-spoken, scrupulously white, and a quintessential member of Delhi's cultured middle-class intelligentsia.

He is sure, he began his political career as a freedom fighter, for independence, and a Marxist student at Lahore university. But to belong to the left was to be part of the Indian political establishment in those early days.

In a long political career since he first became a member of the upper house in 1964, he has been several times a government minister, first as a member of the once-dominant Congress party, and then outside it after he broke with Mrs Indira Gandhi. He was for five years ambassador in Moscow – the plum diplomatic job in the heyday of close relations with the Soviet Union.

Yet over the past seven years he has launched a rethinking of some of the basic tenets of Indian foreign policy, which have lain largely unquestioned and unaltered for the past half century.

He has introduced the so-called Gujral doctrine, to renegotiate relations with the neighbouring states in southern Asia, making concessions without demanding automatic reciprocity. Most important, he has started to repair relations with Pakistan, and initiated debate in a deeply conservative diplomatic establishment about India's links with the rest of the world.

India's post-independence foreign policy was moulded by two traumatic experiences: partition and decolonisation. It has come to be seen as beyond criticism or amendment, having been drafted largely by Jawaharlal Nehru, the father of independence. Any serious debate is only just beginning.

Partition, which resulted in the creation of East and West Pakistan, forced Mr Gujral to flee his home along with countless thousands of other refugees and resulted in three brief but bitter wars. The confrontation continues in the long-running insurgency in Kashmir, and has soured India's relations with the US and China, as well as with parts of the Moslem world.

As for decolonisation, it has coloured India's approach to the rest of the world, inspiring its founder



Gujral's doctrine: India's prime minister seeks renegotiation of relations with south Asian neighbours

membership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), its extremely close relations with the former Soviet Union, and its instinctive suspicion of the former colonial powers and their allies.

Both non-alignment and close relations with Russia remain pillars of Indian foreign policy, in spite of the collapse of the USSR in 1991, and the end of the cold war. Relations with Beijing have never recovered from India's humiliation in the border war of 1962, and the dispute remains unresolved.

It is fear of China, rather than Pakistan, which lies behind India's stubborn refusal to give up the nuclear option. That policy in turn has undermined efforts to improve relations with Washington, in spite of their common commitment to democracy and human rights.

First hints of questioning

of the NAM can be heard in the foreign ministry, in particular since the movement failed to back India in its refusal to sign the nuclear test ban treaty last year. But a senior Indian diplomat insists that the movement still has a role to play.

"There is a concern in many countries like ours that in this unipolar world we have lost our voice," he says. "We need the solidarity of the NAM offers. It has enabled us to make a different kind of approach to international financial institutions."

Outside commentators are more sceptical. "The whole idea of non-alignment is a moral high horse India has been riding for 30 years," says Professor Brahman Chellaney, of the Centre for Policy Research in Delhi. "All the problems we are dealing with today are Nehru's legacy."

Newspaper columnist K. Subramanian thinks much the same. "If you ask me, it's no longer relevant," he says. "But India doesn't want to take the blame for giving it up."

Mr Gujral deems it a movement, not a bloc, "he says in an interview. "Very often we have not voted together. But it is a major platform for ex-colonial nations who are trying to find their place in the sun, particularly in the economic sphere."

The prime minister also defends his country's close relations with Russia. "It will always be important," he says. "It is the neighbourhood, and it is geography.

During the last 50 years in particular we have interacted very closely. Most of the infrastructure of our industry was built with Soviet aid. Most of our defence structures were built with their assistance. I can not ignore all this."

Yet apart from nostalgia, Russia's greatest importance to India is as an ally in ensuring the stability of central Asia, the region from which Delhi hopes to procure its future supplies of oil and gas. And central Asia is a good reason why India needs an accommodation with Pakistan.

"Any pipeline coming from Turkmenistan has to connect Pakistan and us," Mr Gujral said. "Central Asia is oil and gas-rich. It is very important to us. Pakistan is already in energy surplus. It is another dimension of our relationship."

Outside commentators are more sceptical. "The whole idea of non-alignment is a moral high horse India has been riding for 30 years," says Professor Brahman Chellaney, of the Centre for Policy Research in Delhi. "All the problems we are dealing with today are Nehru's legacy."

What Mr Gujral has introduced to the foreign policy debate is the realisation that economics matters as much as ideology. And he also decided that without improved regional relations, India cannot put its wider

international links on a firm foundation.

He talks with Mr Nawaz Sharif, his Pakistani opposite number, remain at a very early stage, but they are helped by the fact that both men speak Punjabi, and both were refugees as a result of partition.

"We are two sovereign nations, and we both want to live in peace with each other," he says. "This is a major change." He describes their talks as "a process, not an event. We are willing to talk on everything". His aim is to make enough progress on questions of trade and co-operation, and promoting closer personal relations, for the really tough question of Kashmir's status to become less of a stumbling block.

Mr Gujral's attempt to break the deadlock in the region is seen as crucial to India's wider influence. "Until it resolves its place in the region – which means its relationship with Pakistan – it cannot play a world role," according to a senior western ambassador.

In the long run, however,

relations with China could prove even more difficult to resolve. The two are trying to introduce confidence-building measures, such as troop withdrawals, along their disputed border in the Himalayas. But Indian analysts see the two countries as condemned to rivalry.

"Why is India keeping its nuclear options open?" asks Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, director of the Institute of Defence Studies in Delhi. "It's the China factor. It is taken for granted that we must do something to prevent any repetition of the border war in 1962."

What baffles many Indian analysts is the failure of Washington to understand that concern, or to include a

role for India in its Asian strategy.

"The Americans would like it to be a bipolar world with China in the next century," says Mr Subramanian.

"But the Chinese don't want that. They see it as a polycentric world, and that means you must have a pedigree of its own."

A desire to contain China

is undoubtedly a factor behind India's wish to have closer relations with the other Asian nations, in regional organisations such as Asean and Apec. But it is not clear that its strategy has been thought through.

"Gujral wants closer relations with Asean,"

according to an Asian ambassador in Delhi. "But his officials cannot stay focused on this for long. To them South East Asia is not a threat or a problem. It is just a coalition of small powers."

"As for Apec, we ask them: Why would you like to join? They seem to be thinking: Hey, we're the big guys, not: What can we contribute to Apec? We think they just want to be a member of the club."

There are three ways of looking at the "estranged neighbours".

First, as a matter of national identity and ideology. Pakistan was conceived and delivered as an Islamic state as Asia, failing which, it does its utmost to obstruct us. An unhealthy one-upmanship leads to an arms race and brinkmanship.

And every time the law of diminishing returns starts to hurt politically – in domestic or diplomatic terms – we start to talk about talk. But little has been achieved, in spite of great expectations.

We dream of an Asian Highway, but even a decent flow of road traffic between our two countries is far off.

We need natural gas for our industry, but a pipeline from Iran remains firmly on the drawing boards.

Central Asia is desperate to reactivate the "silk route", but the legal status of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Pakistan's fear of being flooded by Indian goods keep it in history.

It is doubtful if, except for the talks in Simla in 1971 which led to an undertaking to discuss peacefully all bilateral grievances, we have really talked in a manner which would lead to lasting results. And the Simla talks between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were a meeting of the victor and vanquished after the Bangladesh war.

Since Simla, more than two decades have passed in paying lip service. We have spent half our lives as independent sovereign countries waiting for a further breakthrough in relations.

If we have not actually made it, perhaps there is an explanation.

In these 25 years many intricate conflicts have been resolved. The Berlin wall has fallen, Vietnam has re-integrated, Israel and Palestine have discussed peace. Apart-hood is dead, the Russian federation has accepted collaboration with NATO. Economic forces and political compulsions played a major role in the reconciliations.

But concerned constituents and statesmanship took the lead. Mandela, Arafat, Gorbachev all loom large as angels of peace in our times. Behind them stood millions of vocal citizens, impatient with economic stalemate, intellectually emancipated and determined to overthrow oppression. They aspired, and their leaders responded. Leaders dreamt and the people applauded.

Conditions in the Indian sub-continent have been different. There is no big constituency in India for peace with Pakistan. There is equally no constituency for war. There are isolated pockets of opinion shaped by personal experience. The proxy war in Jammu and Kashmir and the Bombay bomb blasts of 1993 might have made us wary and cautious, but curiously have not increased people's support.

Continued on Page 28

VIEWPOINT

Nations born of violence, trauma

Relations with Pakistan have been dogged by mutual distrust

Political discourse in India is always intense but seldom captivating. Large doses of passion and determination are supposed to make up for the absence of creative edge.

Handling Pakistan is no exception. We are two countries born of trauma and violence. We spent our infancy in mutual mistrust and suspicion. With political adolescence came war.

To fortify itself Pakistan has developed an ostrich posture that the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir is the only really "friendly" area in India. Indian Moslems elsewhere are dismissed as inconsequential "impure".

But for India, Jammu and Kashmir is more than a matter of territory. Having rejected the "two nation" theory emphatically, and built a wholesome secular nation, India cannot barter territory on the basis of religion.

The third perspective is the competitive relationship between South Asia's two most powerful nations.

Regrettably, this competition has been negative. Pakistan aspires to the same positions as India, failing which, it does its utmost to obstruct us. An unhealthy one-upmanship leads to an arms race and brinkmanship.

And every time the law of diminishing returns starts to hurt politically – in domestic or diplomatic terms – we start to talk about talk. But little has been achieved, in spite of great expectations.

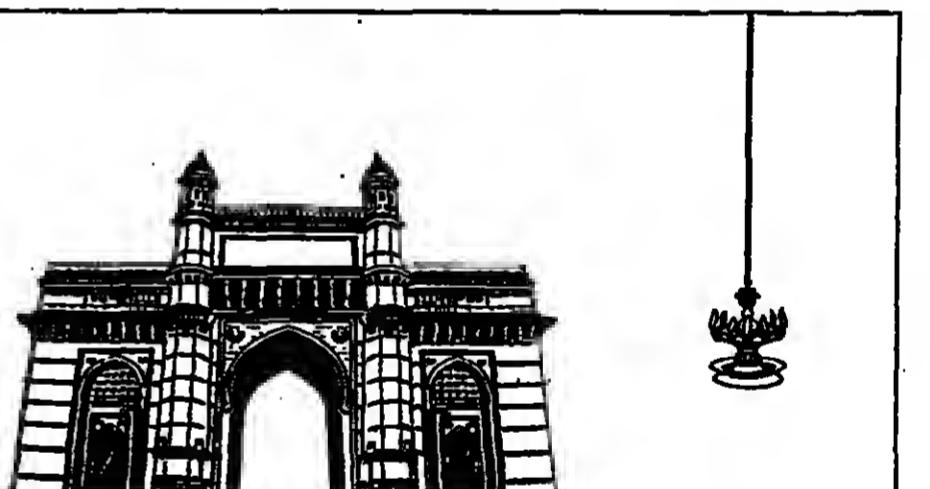
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Central Asia is desperate to reactivate the "silk route", but the legal status of

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- Home for 52 of the top 100 Indian companies and 13 super league Multinationals.
- Power surplus State with highest installed capacity of 11,582 M.W. adding 5,732 M.W. capacity by 2002 A.D. backed by efficient largest transmission and distribution network.
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Strained relations: Kashmir is more than just a matter of territory

Photo: Marcus Chown

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH • by Derek Ingram

A fresh chapter opening

Years of official coolness may be replaced by a more active role in its affairs

Old images die hard in India, and the image of the Commonwealth is for the most part stuck in the past. Many people still see it primarily as a relationship with Britain rather than with 52 other countries of which Britain is just one.

This colonial hang-up lingering around the Commonwealth in India is in marked contrast with the perspective in south-east Asia or Africa, where independence came later.

The Commonwealth is associated in many Indian minds with Jawaharlal Nehru, whose star has waned in recent years, and there are diplomats of the younger generation in the external affairs ministry who maintain that his decision to keep India in the Commonwealth was a mistake. They argue that the organisation is a ceremonial relic of the past and has little to offer India today.

India has never used the Commonwealth as a prime international platform: it always rated as more relevant the non-aligned movement, which was to a large extent an Indian creation. Mrs Indira Gandhi was usually lukewarm when asked her views on the Commonwealth, although she played an active role at its summits and hosted the New Delhi meeting in 1983 (striking up an unlikely rapport with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, then the British prime minister, in the process).

Mrs Gandhi's son, Rajiv, was a more significant Commonwealth participant, particularly in relation to South Africa. He took on Mrs Thatcher over sanctions, which the British PM resisted stubbornly, first at the Nassau summit in 1985 and then more strongly at Vancouver in 1987, when he joined forces with the prime ministers of Canada, Zambia and Australia in isolating

the author is a former Indian minister of state for external affairs

international affairs. Pakistan knows that the notion of third party mediation to resolve the dispute is as good as still-born.

So the 50th year of independence – and sadly of partition – may provide more just than a sentimental opportunity and reason to discover a conceptual breakthrough.

If we together accept that the clock cannot be turned back and that time will not stop, we will start to know and like each other.

The ending of the cold war has taken the sting out of conflicts in our region. Such conflicts as continue are becoming an embarrassment, if not a nuisance, for major players of international politics. There is much fatigue and indifference to the

Kashmir issue ... in



The Commonwealth after Nehru, a platform for relationships with foreign leaders but not often for policy

Mrs Thatcher.

At this point it might have been expected that Indians would have recognised that the Commonwealth was no longer a British-run organisation. (It had, in fact, not been so since the days of internal dissent over Rhodesia, but somehow the notion was not dispelled.)

After Mr Rajiv Gandhi's interest in the Commonwealth seemed to wane, An Indian prime minister has attended only one of the last four summits. Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao went as foreign minister to the meeting in Kuala Lumpur in 1989 in place of Mr Gandhi. As prime minister, Mr Rao put in only a brief appearance at the 1991 summit in Harare, attending neither of the subsequent two meetings.

In a country as large and diverse as India, it is not to be expected that an organisation as multi-layered and sophisticated as today's Commonwealth would be widely known or understood among more than a tiny minority. After all, most Britons are also unfamiliar with its work.

But it has been a disappointment to those involved in the organisation that the country which formed the basis of the modern Commonwealth has participated

so little in its mainstream development, even today when outsiders are lining up to join.

One serious hindrance to the relationship has been the hostility between India and Pakistan over the troubled state of Jammu and Kashmir over which the two Commonwealth members have twice gone to war. Given the history of the 1947 transition, the Commonwealth might have been an instrument of mediation, but India has never been keen to allow such outside intervention.

Another Commonwealth minus for India was the situation following the 1987 coup in Fiji, and the latter's lapsed membership.

The Commonwealth has long been divided on Fiji's readmittance, which India firmly resists because of the racial nature of the island's constitution. With the prospect of restoration of a more liberal constitution this year, India is likely to lift its objections and Fiji could be readmitted at this year's summit in Edinburgh. This would remove one source of friction with India.

But despite such difficulties, prominent Indians have played substantial roles within the Commonwealth for years. Indian experts have been widely used by

the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation – the body's small but widely respected technical aid programme. Distinguished Indian civil servants have served with the Commonwealth Secretariat. And one of the organisation's four centres for its youth programme is based in Chandigarh.

The growth of non-governmental organisations in the Commonwealth, and in India, led in 1993 to the move from London to New Delhi of the headquarters of the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. The chairman of the executive committee is Mr Sohil Sorabjee, a former Indian attorney-general. CHRI is sponsored by NGOs representing lawyers, doctors, trade unionists and parliamentarians.

Mr Krishan Srinivasan, India's former foreign secretary, is now deputy secretary general. A host of other senior Indians has worked on Commonwealth initiatives, such as the Eminent Persons Report to South Africa in 1986, election observation missions, and work in its technical and aid activities.

And, for a number of reasons, this 50th year of independence could open a fresh chapter of relations with the Commonwealth. One is the arrival as prime minister of Mr I.K. Gujral, a man with wider international vision than his immediate predecessors, and one who understands the organisation.

The new Commonwealth's emphasis on trade, investment and development has a greater appeal to the India of 1997. Indian businessmen are expected to play a leading role in the Commonwealth business forum before the Edinburgh summit.

Moreover, relations with Britain have rarely been better since 1947. And though there are some Indian worries over the Labour party's position on Kashmir, there remains much traditional, if nostalgic, reverence for some of the party's former leaders.

Thus for the first time in a decade, and shortly following the visit of Queen Elizabeth to India this autumn, Edinburgh might see an Indian prime minister not only making more than a fleeting appearance at a Commonwealth summit but also playing an active part in its affairs.

• The author is a journalist, writer of books on the Commonwealth and consultant editor of Gemini News Service, which he founded.

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INDIAN BUSINESS IN BRITAIN • by Khozem Merchant

Revolution in the high street

Immigrants of Indian origin are at the heart of the UK's enterprise economy

Mr Patel would barely have given the idea credence when he first settled in Britain. His family's eight shops, side by side on a previously vandalised London street, would, within a decade, earn applause from fashionable business school gurus.

The row of terraced shops would be fitted as a model family business, benefiting from "economies of scale", the gurus would say. It was simply good business, said the baffled Patel, a way of earning a living that put a roof over their heads.

In any event, being hailed as exemplary was recognition. It is 25 years since the Patels and some 20,000 Ugandan Asians, mostly Gujaratis originally from north-west India, landed on Britain's shores, expelled by the regime of Idi Amin.

Together with thousands more immigrants from the sub-continent running newsagents, food stores and restaurants up and down the land, Asians have redefined retailing in the UK.

And, on the way, they have emerged as the country's most successful ethnic minority with a record of extraordinary achievement in business. "The new Jews", was how they were controversially described after the publication of a report last year on the 1991 census entitled The Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain.

Today, Asian immigrants drawn from the sub-continent and east Africa form the largest single minority group in the UK, 840,000 or

1.5 per cent of the total population.

Of course, the road to recognition has not been easy. Initially, Asian businesses were the target of disdainful caricature. Today, they are courted by Britain's governing classes, but attract the occasional brickbat as well as bouquets.

Politicians have aligned themselves with immigrants whose family values, thrift and entrepreneurship have exemplified, and ultimately outlived, the Thatcherite principles fuelling 18 years of Conservative government.

This courtship reached an apex last May, with a shopkeeper's message to Westminster. Mr Mohammad Sarwar, an immigrant from Pakistan with a fortune built from his cash-and-carry business, was elected to parliament after winning a safe Labour seat in Scotland.

The Labour party has since taken steps to despatch Mr Sarwar following allegations – which he denies – that he bribed another Asian candidate to scale down his campaign.

Earlier, Lords Patel and Begri, both Indian immigrants, were nominated to the upper house after distinguished business careers in Britain.

Banks and the financial institutions, however, have been distrustful of the supremacy of the family in Asian management and apparent Asian financial opacity. Suspicion reached a peak with the collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International in June 1991, an institution managed by, and almost wholly geared towards, Asians. Its collapse under the weight of corrupt practices was a defining moment for Britain's Asian community.

But any Asian audit would

end up handsomely in credit.

Indian food stores have become a way of life in much of the UK

Britain's Asians have outgrown their retail roots. The diversity and depth of their commercial activity was reflected in a recent survey of Britain's top 100 Asian businesses by Eastern Eye newspaper, which estimated

their aggregate wealth at £5bn – more than the gross domestic product of Uganda.

The survey revealed a second and third generation making its mark in new businesses such as the production of television programmes, manufacturing industry and computers. A decade back these were no-go areas, ruled out because of poor access to funding and higher education. Remarkably, the survey found that a 21-year-old retail millionaire, Mr Reuben Singh, squeezes the management of his growing retail empire between lectures at Manchester university, where he is studying for a business degree.

For more than two decades, the British Asian success remained a UK domestic phenomenon. But it took on a sharp international focus after 1991, as India, the "homeland", liberalised its economy. As with the Chinese diaspora, patriotic capitalism became a rallying cry. Although this has yet to lead to a flood of investment by British Asians in the sub-continent, many are trying to diversify from mature UK markets. Typical is Lorraine, a London cosmetics company, which is ambitiously surveying the Indian market.

At the same time, economic liberalisation in India has allowed businesses from that country to explore overseas markets. Many have turned to London in order to gain access to international capital markets.

The British capital is now home to dynamic companies from Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and Indian businesses that are already global in operation and

ambition. London is a strategic tax-induced base for this small band, which includes Ispat, the massive steel group owned by the Mittal family, the Hindujas trading and finance group and the Madhavani trading empire.

These companies dwarf the interests of their British brethren, such as the textile magnate Mr Tom Singh, the industrialist Mr Nat Puri and the rice importer Mr Rashmi Thakrar, who run businesses that are largely UK focused.

Whether they have established their businesses at home or abroad, however, Indian entrepreneurs in Britain are all NRIs (non-resident Indian), a term invented by the Indian tax authorities to describe a person of Indian origin living overseas.

In the global economy, the NRI has become a geographical convenience to embrace the textile magnate in Calcutta opening a US subsidiary and Mr Patel in east London.

and is also sold in Nepal & Dubai. Other markets are on the anvil.

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PROFILE Gulam Kanderbhai Noon

Surviving test of fire

Technology has helped an Indian food supplier win a place in British kitchens

The network which binds Britain's Asian business barons together rarely lets down its members. Ask Mr Gulam Kanderbhai Noon. When a fire reduced his food factory to smouldering cinders, up sprang several friends with blank cheques.

"Build another one and don't worry about the noughts [on the cheque]," they told Noon, as he is universally known.

The fire, in November 1994, was a cathartic moment. Twenty years' work was wiped out.

Shouldn't he just forget it and retire? Maybe try to master, again, that difficult slow-medium, right-hand round-the-wicket off-break which after a life-long devotion to the game of cricket he still could not deliver.

"No," said Noon. "The fire was devastating but I was even more determined to carry on, and what really drove me on was the support of my friends, colleagues and customers."

He spent a seven-figure sum on a new factory, resuming a business career that had taken him from the award-winning frozen foods into kitchens across the land.

The family-owned Noon Products, and a small group of other producers, including Patak's in Wigan, have made mass-produced Indian foods respectable.

British supermarkets sold Indian ready foods valued at £225m in 1996, forecast to rise to £278m this year, according to Mintel, the research group. One in four visitors to a supermarket buys an Indian food.

Many bear the Noon brand name which is carried on the 70,000 frozen meals a day that it makes at the new factory in Southall, west London.

Sainsbury, the UK



Gulam Kanderbhai Noon: driven by the support of his friends

in the realms of science."

That much is obvious at his factory, where in the absence of any industry benchmark, Noon has had to commission pioneering machinery. For instance, the traditional clay tandoor of his native Rajasthan has been replaced by a conveyor-belt oven which cooks four tonnes of chicken a day. And though the delicate balance of spices is still determined by the sensitive nose of a chef, the overall operation is calibrated by computers.

Noon's rewards have been considerable, though probably among the most satisfying has been seeing his daughter, Zeenat, rise into a senior position at the company. He remains among the most visible British-Asian businessmen, as much at home among a familiar cabal of Asian tycoons, dining with a royal, or sitting in the members' enclosure at Lord's cricket ground, as he is on the board of his local enterprise and training council.

Noon was awarded an MBE in 1996 for his services to the food industry, an award befitting as much as the company cricket team he sponsors.

Khozem Merchant

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Indianoil is not only India's largest company, it is also the only Indian company in Fortune's "Global 500".

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Indianoil's Research & Development Centre is the only one of its kind in Asia. ISO 9001 accredited, it has developed over 1,800 lubricant formulations. Its Titanium complex grease-Servo Titex HT is a marvel in lubrication chemistry and has been patented in the United States also.

Indianoil's SERVO lubricants are India's largest-selling brand. They come in over 400 different formulations and outsell all others, including multinational brands. SERVO has been approved by the American Petroleum Institute and major international equipment builders

and is also sold in Nepal & Dubai. Other markets are on the anvil.

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- Organisational arrangements to speed up decisions
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Made-ups apart, India exports fabrics of every count and construction: 1.8 billion sq. metres every year. And yarns for all kinds of applications from hosiery to weaving.

Taken together, they amount to over US\$3 billion in annual exports. Which makes India's cotton textile industry one of the largest in the world. Get in touch with us and we'll tell you more about it.



The Cotton Textiles Export Promotion Council of India

India: Mumbai 5th Floor, Engineering Centre, 9 Mathew Road, Mumbai-400 004 (India) Tel.: 91-22-3632910/11/12/13. Fax: 91-22-363 2914/202 2510. Telex: 81-11-75466 TCIL IN Germany: Frankfurt Tel.: (49 69) 554232, 5964600. Telex: (49 69) 554169 • Hongkong: Tel.: (852) 25290356. Fax: (852) 26613420/26613488 • South Africa: Durban Tel.: 27-31-3041024/3041020. Fax: 27-31-3041024.

Stretch.

{ How a difficult year turned into the best-ever for the company }

Unaudited Financial Results (provisional) for the year ended 31 March 1997

PARTICULARS	Accounting year ended 31.3.97	Previous accounting year ended 31.3.96 (unaudited)
Net Sales / Income from Operations	64.23	50.05
Other Income	1.12	0.49
Total Expenditure	49.37	39.88
Interest	5.77	2.96
Gross Profit	10.21	7.70
Loss on Investment	0.15	0.69
Depreciation	2.52	1.57
Provision for Taxation	0.97	0
Net Profit	6.57	5.44
Equity Capital	5.22*	2.09
Reserves (excl Revaln.)	28.27	
EPS (Rs./annualised)	0.41	0.72

The above results were taken on record by the Board of Directors at its meeting held on 15 May 1997 at Calcutta.

*Equity Capital increased after a stock split.
One US\$ = Rs 55.94

Calcutta, India VIVEK SARAOGI
15 May 1997 Managing Director

BALRAMPUR CHINI MILLS LTD

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30 INDIA: Human development

OVERVIEW • by Mark Nicholson

Basic needs still not met

Scarce resources are only partly the reason for continued slow social progress

Fifty years after Jawaharlal Nehru ushered in independence, "the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell" remains for many a slum, or a village with neither sanitation nor clean water, no primary school, or jobs.

For all India's political, economic and industrial achievements, an audit of human development today, as in 1947, makes bleak reading.

India's 860m people comprise one-sixth of humanity, but the country contains nearly one-third of the world's absolute poor. According to a recent report, 130m people have no access to basic health facilities, 226m have no safe drinking water, 70 per cent

of the country lacks basic sanitation, and nearly half the population is illiterate. India has the highest illiterate population in the world.

Women and children fare worst. More than 50 per cent of India's under-fives are malnourished, according to Unicef, worse than most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Almost 40 per cent of India's female children do not attend schools.

Altogether, the country today finds itself ranked 135th of 174 countries in the UN's annual Human Development Index, below such countries as Kenya, Ghana, and Equatorial Guinea, though better placed than Nigeria, Zambia or Zaire.

This has not been for want of social spending, development assistance, or, for that matter, some progress in alleviating India's ills.

Adult literacy has improved from 34 per cent in

1970 to 51 per cent, the crude death rate has halved to 10 per 1,000 people from the levels of 1960, as has the infant mortality rate over the same period. GDP per capita has doubled in the past three decades, even as its population doubled.

But the progress remains slow and often resistant to the most concerted of efforts. India's level of child malnutrition, for example, remains among the world's worst despite what Unicef called "the largest effort in human history to improve nutritional standards", a scheme begun 20 years ago now of operating in 400,000 of India's 600,000 villages, where 75 per cent of its people still live.

At present rates of progress in furnishing the basics of human development, the UN estimates** that India can aspire to reaching "high" development – the level today of countries such as Hungary, Malaysia

or Uruguay – only by 2010. At present population growth rates, that will be more than 80 years after India surpasses China as the world's most populous nation.

As other articles on these pages examine in more detail, the reasons for India's inability to make deeper inroads into its grave welfare deficiencies are complex solutions are nowhere as glaringly obvious as the problems themselves.

In part, it is a question of resources – India's annual per capita investment in health and education stands at just \$14 against, for example, \$160 in South Korea. In part, it is bureaucratic inertia, political bias towards the better-off, and complex social inter-relationships of caste and gender.

A recent Unicef report argued that India's inability to feed its children better arose not simply from its poverty, or inequality, its

diet- or, even, government neglect. Little short of a radical social revolution was needed, it argued. "To bring change, a sustained long-term effort must be made to promote equal freedoms, opportunities and rights for women."

To improve nutrition rates, a skein of inter-related deprivations had simultaneously to be unwound, including better health education, nutrition for women, improved access to basic health services, increasing control over fertility and, "the key of keys", education for girls.

The future said Nehru so years ago, was one of "incisive striving" to end poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality. It is, still.

• *Human Development in South Asia; Mahbub ul-Haq: Oxford University Press (1997); **The Progress of Nations; Unicef (1996); ***Human Development Report: UN (1996)*

POVERTY • by Lisa Vaughan

Suffer the little children

The percentage has fallen, but more than 320m remain below poverty line

Mukesh, a four-year old, is one of 120,000 people living in shacks in Yamuna Pushta, one of Delhi's largest and dirtiest slums. There are no toilets, no drinking water, no health care. Crime and alcohol abuse flourish. Most of the 55,000 children under 16

Though Mukesh attends a creche run by a non-governmental organisation (NGO), where he gets two meals a day, he is seriously underweight. While the other 90 children play, he stares into the distance.

In Azadpur, a village in the state of Uttar Pradesh, Mitti, who says she is 18, married young and has given birth to three children, all of whom died after a few months. Mitti did not go to school. As she stands, veiled, on the dirt floor of her windowless hut, she constantly defers to the men in the village, who answer most questions for her.

Deprivation is endemic in India, especially in rural areas, where three-quarters of the population lives, and in the feudal north. The poor are low-caste, tribal, widowed or disabled. Most are landless and without assets.

They might receive daily wages of Rs30 to Rs50 as sharecroppers or migrant construction workers, coolies or domestic servants, stone crushers or beggars. They perform back-breaking tasks for long hours in wretched conditions. Most are illiterate and have little access to health care or public services. Those in cities live in cramped, filthy slums. Marginalised and powerless, the poor are often unable to take advantage of what few opportunities they get.

There has been progress since independence. The percentage of people living below the poverty line has declined from around 65 per cent in the 1950s to 36 per cent, according to the government's most recent measure. India has not experienced a serious famine since 1943. Life expectancy and infant mortality have improved. Literacy rates have crept up, though half of all adults still cannot read and write. Industrial employment has risen many times over, and food production has more than doubled since 1947.

Set against the population explosion, however, such improvements mean little: in absolute terms, the numbers of poor have doubled. Some 320m to 350m of India's 860m people are estimated to earn an income providing less than 2,400 calories a day in rural areas and 2,100 in cities. The number of poor today in India is equal to the combined population of British India – now India, Pakistan and Bangladesh – at independence. According to the United Nations, India is home to nearly one-third of the world's poor.

"India has to run to stay in place on poverty because there is so much to be done," says Ms Meera Chatterjee, social development officer with the World Bank in New Delhi. "The population is expanding rapidly. The land



Poor prospects: Many of the country's children are under-nourished

the poor depend on is being degraded. The country's geographical diversity and size makes it more challenging to reach people."

India's record would look so bad were it not for the fact that many other developing countries have achieved more. Economists Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, in the 1995 book *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, say:

"India's progress over the decades, while far from the worst, has been substantially and systematically out-classed by many other developing countries."

Though there are regional variations, India compares with many sub-Saharan African countries. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which ranks countries on measures such as unattended births, female literacy and malnourishment in the under-fives, puts India in 88th place out of 101 developing economies.

Where has India gone wrong? Poverty has been high on the political agenda, at least in rhetoric, and the government has spent massively since the 1970s when Indira Gandhi campaigned on the populist Garibi Hatao (Abolish Poverty) platform. Anti-poverty programmes providing work, training, economic assets or loans have been increased, expanded and modified in each successive five-year plan.

Every prime minister since Mrs Gandhi has vowed to reduce or eliminate poverty.

The incidence of poverty has declined gradually as an indirect response to economic growth, especially when agricultural output has risen as in the Green Revolution of the 1970s. But growth has largely benefited the top layer of society, and little has "trickled down" to those millions living on the bottom, economists and development experts say.

Government safety-net programmes have been largely unsuccessful because they lack access to food, no way to maintain the health of the animal, or nowhere to sell the milk, sooner or later his venture will be a failure. We're trying to remedy that.

Indian government funds allocated for the poor are co-opted at every bureaucratic level: "Almost down to the last paisa, the funds for the poverty alleviation programmes go to the well-off, those who are part of the flourishing network of corruption."

Everybody Loves a Good Drought, a book of stories from India's poorest districts by journalist Palagummi Srinath, tells how a tribe in Orissa state was denied benefits due to them because their name was misspelt in the official list.

One Indian NGO worker says, "There is bad management, political interference and a lack of efficient administration. And face it, the elite in this country have benefited from the poor remaining poor. They have the notion that they need a service class and cheap labour for farms. Poverty is intentional, not just an oversight."

Today's policymakers can identify past blunders and say they are now on the right track. Professor Sayed Raza Hashim, a member of the Planning Commission and chairman of a steering committee on poverty alleviation, says: "We have treated two things separately, growth and poverty alleviation, as if they were unrelated. When poverty alleviation programmes have been detached from growth, they are unable to alleviate poverty on a sustainable basis."

And for economic growth to be sustained, India's vast army of poor must contribute, he adds.

Dreze and Sen caution, however, that economic growth is not enough: the poor have to be given greater opportunities through education and other public services.

Prof Hashim describes the failings of a government scheme intended to give the poor a productive asset. "We give a man a cow, but if he has no access to fodder, no way to maintain the health of the animal, or nowhere to sell the milk, sooner or later his venture will be a failure. We're trying to remedy that.

Mozambique - June

African Mining - September

Mauritius - September

The Commonwealth - October

Uttar Pradesh - October

Maharashtra - November

Indian Software - November

Bangladesh - December

West Bengal - December

Tamil Nadu - March 1998

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24/6/97

India 50 YEARS of independence

Alexander Nicoll selects some of the events which have shaped a nation

1947

August 15: India obtains independence as British India is divided into two countries, Pakistan, which gained independence the previous day, is divided into two parts, West and East, with India in between. Jawaharlal Nehru becomes first Indian prime minister.

Nearly 1m lives lost in communal violence as millions pour across India-Pakistan border in two-way exodus of refugees.

October 27: Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, accedes to Indian sovereignty. Following Kashmir government's appeal, Indian troops secure Srinagar against incursion by tribesmen from Pakistan. Fighting breaks out and undeclared war continues for months.

1948

January 11: Mahatma Gandhi fasts for a week, saying: "Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam." January 30: Nathuram Godse, a radical Hindu, assassinates Mahatma Gandhi in New Delhi. Nehru says: "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere."

1949

January 1: United Nations-monitored ceasefire takes effect in Kashmir, intended as precursor of plebiscite in state of Jammu and Kashmir under UN auspices. Plebiscite never held.

1950

January 26: India adopts new constitution and becomes a republic. March 1: Planning Commission established with Nehru as chairman, begins drafting five-year plans along Soviet lines.

1951

October 25 - February 21: First general election. Congress party wins 364 of 489 seats with 45 per cent share of vote.

1952

April: India concludes treaty with China incorporating "five principles": mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence.

1955

Chinese troops enter India's Garhwal district in Uttar Pradesh; withdrawn after protests from Delhi.

1956

Second five-year plan envisages substantial investment in capital intensive public sector industries such as steel and heavy machinery.

1957

February 24 - June 9: Second general election. Congress wins 371 of 489 seats with 47.8 per cent share of vote. China constructs road linking Sinkiang with Tibet, crossing

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